

CHRISTIAN WORLD ACTION

The Christian Citizen
Builds for Tomorrow

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Muhlenberg Press : Philadelphia

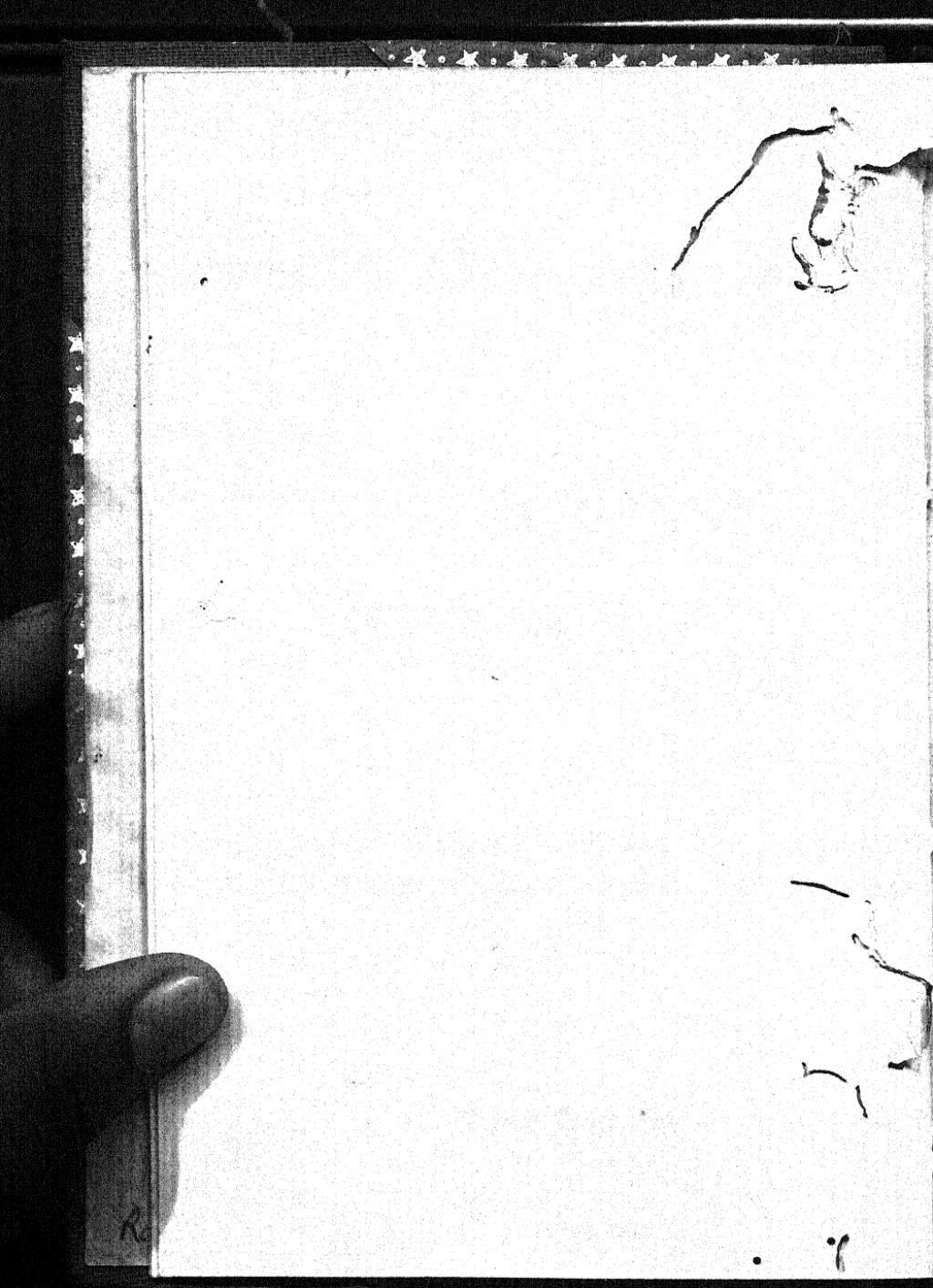
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SEPTEMBER 1943

MADE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Foreword

"We must first win the war. Then we shall be in a position to think about the nature of the peace." I appreciate the practical necessities which underlie this widely held point of view. With the intentional separation of the two objectives—*first* winning the war and only *thereafter* becoming concerned about the peace—I find myself in strong disagreement.

The fact that "too little and too late" may apply to preparation for peace just as it applies to preparation for war is not generally grasped. Accordingly, I have chosen to endorse and to set forth what I believe to be an indispensable long-range point of view. The ultimate goal towards which we are struggling lies beyond the suppression of evils in foreign lands and within our own borders. It has to do with a form of international and national life which will make present evils improbable or impossible in the future.

My emphasis upon this ultimate goal is not intended to suggest any indifference to present emergencies. Its purpose is rather to direct all our resources, material and spiritual, into most constructive channels. I am convinced that the Christian Church and the Christian citizen must play a responsible part in establishing justice and good will in the society of nations.

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Introduction

The Christian citizen looks at the world of today. A scene of confusion and destruction into which human life has been cast meets his eye. As this book goes to print, the people of practically every land are still embroiled in war. The chaotic condition of human relations has unquestionably colored the point of view and influenced the selection of topics offered for discussion. When the war ends, those incidents and opinions which pertain to war-time emergencies will become a matter of history. The outdating of any portion of this book by reason of a victorious peace will be welcomed with profound rejoicing.

The main consideration of these discussions, however, lies at a point beyond the conflict. The focus of attention is upon the peace that shall follow the war. The Christian citizen looks at the world of today in order that he may be equipped to make his contribution to a better world of tomorrow. Must wars continue to recur? From what causes do they arise? Can a just and durable peace be formulated? What are the responsibilities and opportunities of the Christian citizen? Questions of this kind can be neither evaded nor postponed. They are significant at all times. They command a more sympathetic hearing at a time when the futility of war is being demonstrated by its horror and destruction.

To study peace while a nation is at war is no violation of patriotism. In England and America, leaders in both church and state have voiced the desire of their people in an insistent

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demand for a definition of peace aims. Men and women are sacrificing property and life for victory. Will the peace that follows victory merely set the stage for another catastrophe? Or will it lay the foundation for a just and durable ordering of international life? The willingness to sacrifice is clearly promoted by the hope that a victory will provide a fresh start wherein the evils of the past will give way to the practice of fairness and good will.

To lay the basis for peace while a nation is at war is a Christian imperative. The message of reconciliation and brotherhood is primary in the Christian ministry to mankind's needs. War provides fertile soil for the growth of hatred and vengeance. If permitted to develop unchecked, hatred and the desire for revenge will present insuperable obstacles to an equitable and lasting peace. No placid winking at evil is here implied. Evils must be attacked—not only with determination, but also in the spirit of forgiveness. The Christian must seek to apply the principles of reconciliation and brotherhood in all areas of life, at home and abroad.

To continue the promotion of peace after an armistice has been declared is both a patriotic and a Christian duty. In all probability, there will be a fairly long period between any general armistice and the signing of the final peace treaty. Interest and activity must be sustained. What part shall our country play? Under a democratic form of government, the voice of the Christian can and must be heard.

In the field of postwar settlements, there is room for a wide variety of opinion. No unanimity on specific provisions has been reached. Accordingly, the lessons that follow contain convictions and suggestions drawn from a number of sources. They are presented as a basis for discussion. Dogmatic con-

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clusions are, in the main, avoided. The course seeks to accomplish the following aims:

1. To stimulate people to think internationally and ecumenically.¹
2. To help them to understand the fundamental Christian principles which pertain to peace.
3. To lead them to a study of specific proposals for international settlements.
4. To create an alertness to opportunity for action as Christian citizens.
5. To prepare them to act intelligently when the opportunity for action arrives.

Keep these purposes in mind. Try to accomplish them personally. Try to get other people interested.

Suggestions for Procedure

This text has been prepared to meet a number of needs. It may be used as an elective course in the young people's and adult departments of the Sunday church school; as a source book for independent discussion or special interest groups in the congregation and community; as a means to equip Christian leaders, both clerical and lay, for a responsible part in postwar settlements; as a guide for any individual who is intelligently seeking a way in which the Christian may make his contribution to world order.

To focus attention upon most significant issues, a series of questions is presented early in each chapter. When the text is used as a group study course, these questions may serve as

¹ The word *ecumenical* means that which is common to the Christian Church throughout the world; it refers to a world mind or a widely accepted point of view.

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an outline for class discussion. Here is a suggested procedure. Naturally, each leader is at liberty to fashion his own plan of approach. *First*, the leader will acquaint his class with the problem to be considered. He may do this by reading the introductory paragraph, by having a member of the group read it, or by stating its contents in his own words. *Second*, he will seek discussion on the separate questions as they appear in the text. The information helpful to an intelligent participation in the discussion may be gained by the students' preparatory study of the chapter, or through summaries presented by the leader in the group session. Ideas and opinions gained from other studies and from a knowledge of current events ought to be introduced freely (suggested references for further study appear in the Appendix, page 110). Where students are somewhat hesitant about expressing their own views, they may be asked to read from the chapter short sections which bear upon the question under consideration. In order to guard against a lag in the discussion, the leader will do well—as a part of his preparation—to mark out the specific sections which relate to the various questions. *Third*, the leader will summarize the findings of the discussion. Definite conclusions will not always be possible. Members of the group may not be in complete agreement. Some aspects of international problems and solutions may not be clearly understood. Results of this kind are to be expected. Nevertheless, a valuable end will have been accomplished when Christians are interested in and concerned about their part in the life of nations—even though they cannot know the answer to every question. One thought ought always to be uppermost. A Christian point of view is sought. Remember: The *Christian* citizen must build for tomorrow.

Two projects may be carried on as the course proceeds. The

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first is to make a peace scrapbook. Here may be included clippings of articles and pictures from newspapers, magazines, and the like. Keep the material up to date. It will be of interest to the class. It may serve to interest other people in the congregation and community. The second involves building a list of concrete ways in which the Christian citizen can contribute to a just and durable peace. Add to this list from time to time. Chapter XII deals especially with this matter. Christian *action* of a quite definite nature ought to result from study by a Christian group.

CHAPTER I

The Church in History

The Changeless Gospel in a Changing World

We are living in an age of pace and action. More events are happening more rapidly than in any previous period of human history. The study of life in this mad whirlwind of today is a fascinating and at the same time a terrifying venture. We are creatures of the moment but truth is eternal. In order to maintain our balance, we must establish ourselves on those truths to which experience over the centuries has given testimony. In order to live wholesomely and effectively, we must have some understanding of the changing ways in which the changeless truth has been received and applied. A few questions will serve to guide our thinking.¹

1. What is the primary purpose of the Christian Church? Can this purpose in any way be changed?
2. Did the people of all generations express their Christianity in the same way? Is there any danger that the church itself will be affected by the conditions under which men are living? Must the church relate its message to the conditions of the time? Why?
3. How do the needs of men and the means at hand affect the method whereby the Gospel is to be proclaimed?

¹ Suggested references for further study appear in the Appendix, p. 110

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The Changeless Gospel

Our glance travels back over the years. Towering far above all other men—as the loftiest of mountain peaks dwarfs into insignificance the little hills by which it is surrounded—stands Jesus, the Christ of mankind. From his ministry of teaching and service, from the depth and sympathy of his character, from his death and resurrection men came to know that God's love had found expression in a unique personality. In him was revealed the standard of God's will. In him was released the power of God's love. He came that man might have life, and might have it more abundantly. This is the Gospel—the Good News of God's reconciliation and forgiveness, of hope and strength, of peace for men whom he favors. Upon this Gospel is founded the Holy Catholic Church—the Church Universal, the Christian Church.

By reason of its foundation and nature, the primary function of the church lies in its effort to make the Gospel of Jesus Christ effective in the life of man. In performing its work, the church seeks to cultivate in individual persons a controlling faith in God and a true expression of that faith in all relations with fellow men and in the use of the material world. One often hears people speak of "making the world a better place to live in." This statement has two sides to it and may be misunderstood. The chief task of the church is to make better people who, in turn, will strive to achieve a better world. True enough, conditions may be such that the expression of Christian standards is difficult or impossible. Even then people have to be inspired to want and to work for improvement. The church's first concern is with people—that the Gospel may become effective in their lives. This is its changeless purpose—down through the ages and on into the future. The church must not desert the Gospel.

THE CHURCH IN HISTORY

In a Changing World

1. *Changing Life*

Truth remains unchanged, but the complexion of life is continuously changing. As a consequence, the manner in which the Gospel has been received and applied has varied in different periods of history. Consider one illustration.

With the decline of the Roman Empire, the church was growing in numbers, wealth, position, and power. People who were neither sincere in their desires nor pure in their ways of living became members of it. Many evils crept into the life of the church. Against these corrupt tendencies those who were in earnest struggled, and when there was no other way, they separated themselves from the evil of church and society life and lived either alone or in organized groups. Self-denial was their ideal. This movement is known as monasticism. Often men went to wild extremes to show their devotion to Christ. More balanced men tried to organize these hermits or monks, as they were called, into groups. The movement shows a desire on the part of Christians in that age to express their faith in a life removed from contact with the world. Many believed that monastic seclusion was more righteous than a life lived in normal associations. Today the whole point of view has changed and men find opportunities to live the Christian life everywhere. The home, the church, the community, the state, the nation, the world—each offers endless avenues for Christian expression.

This contrast has been cited merely to remind us that changes have taken place in the manner in which the Gospel has been received and applied to life. Of even greater importance than the fact of change is the necessity of knowing what kind of change or adjustment is required. In the Ren-

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aissance, the spirit of the times entered the church and took a firm hold upon it. While leaders still sought to gain political power and to control the religious lives of men, it became their greatest ambition to excel all others in literary and cultural achievements. They gathered about them great hosts of poets, artists, and scholars. They built courts that rivaled the courts of the greatest kings. The effects of this "culture madness" were soon appearing among the clergy, in the monasteries, and even in the local congregations. The church changed, but it became a creature of the times. The church failed to make its spiritual message effective in the life of man. The church lost an opportunity.

In order that the Gospel may be effectively received in a changing world, it must be related to the conditions under which men are living. Prevailing evils must be counteracted. Predominant needs must be met. The whole Gospel must be proclaimed. Those portions of it which apply to current evils and needs demand special emphasis.

2. Changing Methods

The goal of Christian effort remains the same. *Men and available means* change ways and methods. Within the brief span of Jesus' earthly ministry, a wide variety of approaches is noticeable. He dealt with many types of people—his own followers, lepers, outcasts, well-to-do and poor, tax-collectors, soldiers, kings, and priests. In each instance, he took into account the nature of the person before him and the opportunity at his disposal. The lawyer and the rich young man posed the same question: What must I do to inherit eternal life? To the former he recounted the parable of the Good Samaritan; he urged the latter to sell all that he had and give to the poor. To the high priest, a religious leader, he spoke

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in religious terms and admitted himself to be the Christ; before Pilate, the representative of the Roman government, he used a political form and agreed to the title of king. Jesus took into account the *nature* and *needs* of *men*. He also made use of whatever *means* were available to accomplish the ends he was seeking. When asked about paying tribute to Caesar, he illustrated his answer from a coin. The grain fields became an object lesson of the spiritual harvest. Jesus changed his methods and the details of his message in accordance with the *people* involved and the *opportunities* at hand.

Upon the church of each generation falls the same twofold responsibility to adjust its message to the *needs* of *men* and to use whatever legitimate *means* are available. The church must speak to its own members, to the sick and the outcast, rich and poor, ministers, soldiers, business men, and governmental officials. It must proclaim the full Gospel. In each instance, however, it must take into account the nature of the person addressed and the evils to be counteracted. Further, church workers ought to seek to use the most effective methods at their disposal. St. Paul traveled from village to village on foot; John Wesley and Henry Muhlenberg visited their people and parishes in a buggy or on horseback; the pastor of today may move about his tasks by streetcar, automobile, or even airplane. The wandering preacher of the first century had to speak directly to his hearers; with the invention of the printing press, the Gospel could be proclaimed far and wide through the printed page; in our own time, the telephone, the acousticon, and the radio enable the preacher to reach people who otherwise might be untouched by his word. These are but meager illustrations of a host of ways in which science and modern learning can be made the servant of the Christian message, if only they are put to wise and efficient use.

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To those of our generation who comprise the Christian Church has been committed the joyful responsibility of proclaiming the Gospel. What particular emphases are needed in order that our work may be effective? As you proceed to answer this question in the studies that lie ahead, keep these thoughts clearly in mind:

1. The primary task of the church is to make the Gospel of Jesus Christ effective in the life of man. This purpose remains unchallenged.
2. In a continuously changing world, new modes of thought and life create new needs. The church must not become a creature of the times. Nevertheless, it must proclaim with special emphasis those principles of the Gospel which relate to the conditions by which men are surrounded.
3. The church must be free to use every method which will serve to make the Gospel effective in the life of people today.
4. A tremendous opportunity faces our present generation of Christians. We need insight and courage to avail ourselves of it.

CHAPTER II

The Church in the World Today

The life of mankind has passed through continuous change. Christianity and the Christian Church cannot entirely separate themselves from the world in which they exist. Indeed, the effectiveness of Christian work is dependent upon an understanding of the conditions in which the church and people move. We therefore turn our attention to a brief sketch of the place which the church holds in our present world. An inclusive picture is impossible. Modern life is too far-flung and too complex. Only matters that are most significant for the discussions that follow can here be set forth.

1. How have means for transportation and communication affected the life of nations? In what way has political development lagged behind developments in other fields?
2. How is Christianity distributed over the continents of the world? Compare the numerical strength of Christianity with that of other groups and with the total population of the world.
3. In what sense is the Christian Church independent of races and nations? Can it rightly be called a supranational body?
4. In what ways is the Christian Church, as a human organization, related to the local and federal government? What is the place of the Christian citizen?

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The World of Today

One of the most startling characteristics of our present day is the extent to which the world has shrunk. Distance has lost its meaning. In 1790 a mail rider required five days to go from New York to Washington. A stage coach made the same trip in from eight to ten days. Communication was limited to the speed of travel. Modern transportation by rail has cut the days into hours. Even more amazing is the rapidity with which a person can go from one continent to another. Washington is more accessible to London today than it was to New York in the early days of American history. The airplane with its almost unbelievable speed continues to bring distant places closer together. In a matter of seconds, communication can be established with almost any part of the world by telegraph, telephone, or radio.

Trade and commerce—within our own nation and among the nations of the world—have tremendously increased with the improvement of means for transportation and communication. No nation relies completely upon its own natural resources. Even those countries that are blessed with a wide variety of raw materials find it easier to draw upon areas whose products can be more economically developed. International trade plays a large part in the life of the world.

The nations of the world have been drawn closer together through modern transportation and the accompanying growth in commerce. In sharp contrast with this fact stands the continuation of a rigid national sovereignty. Political relationships have not kept pace with the development of the world's life. Each nation jealously guards its own interests—frequently at the expense of weaker or smaller nations. In some fields, regulations to govern international relations have been adopted and commissions to administer them have been set up. Un-

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fortunately, the effectiveness of these depends upon the good will of each contracting party and good will has not always been in evidence. As a result, numerous tension points are constantly threatening. The very forces that could bring peace and prosperity are potential instruments of destruction.

Christianity throughout the World

We turn now to the place which Christianity holds in our present-day world. The age of the Renaissance and the Reformation had stimulated exploration. New lands were discovered. Among the explorers and settlers were men and women who carried with them their own religious beliefs and practices and who sought to convert native inhabitants. In this way, a natural expansion took place. With the rise of modern missions at the close of the eighteenth century, there came a purposeful effort to bring the Gospel to people in all parts of the world. As a result from this effort, Christianity has become practically coextensive with the inhabited globe. Christians are to be found everywhere.

The distribution of Christianity over the continents cannot be computed with final accuracy. The same is true with the general population of the world. No two authorities are in complete agreement. There is, however, enough information at hand to give an approximate and quite interesting picture. The following figures have been arrived at on the basis of a number of general and independent studies.¹

¹ The Lutheran World Almanac and Encyclopedia 1934-1937, p. 362.

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Distribution of Religions in the World

Continent	Population	Christians	Jews	Mohammedans	Others
Africa	147,900,066	15,517,025	542,869	55,538,211	76,301,961
Asia	1,117,221,353	21,742,261	572,930	138,299,144	956,607,018
Europe	551,186,022	398,159,546	9,372,666	5,672,225	137,981,585
North America	170,695,037	87,263,348	4,409,712	1,400	79,020,577
Oceania	85,204,342	16,841,014	26,954	21,467,868	46,868,506
South America	83,895,189	61,493,624	266,958	22,134,607
Total	2,156,102,009	601,016,818	15,192,089	220,978,848	1,318,914,254
Estimated Total	2,200,000,000	737,000,000	16,000,000	250,000,000	1,197,000,000
Per Cent	100.0	33.4	.7	11.3	54.6

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In recent years, the Christians throughout the world have been attempting to draw closer together. The numerous world conferences that have been held over the last twenty years are a tangible evidence of this desire. (Excerpts from the findings of some of these conferences are given in Chapter VI.) While this movement is still in its infancy, it offers a hopeful sign. As Christianity is spreading more widely over the face of the earth, Christians are moving into a closer fellowship of sympathy and understanding.

The Nature of the World-wide Church

We believe there is one holy Christian Church. "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all" (Ephesians 4:4-6). In this sense, the church throughout the entire world is a spiritual organism.

"As a *spiritual organism* it is the communion of all persons in a state of reconciledness with God through Jesus Christ. This communion is under the sole jurisdiction of God. His spirit is its sole life; His Word, its sole instrument of effectiveness; His will, its sole law. To the existence of this organism three things, and three only, are essential: the gracious God, His divine Word, and believing persons. Where God, through His Word, offers His grace to persons, and thereupon they, through the power of the Word, respond in faith to God, a divine-human fellowship exists. This is the Church. This Church, the spiritual organism, created and sustained and made effective by God alone, is independent of all things mundane, of all things temporal. It is independent of, for instance, blood or soil, structure of society or form of political government, organization or property, printed Bibles or ecclesi-

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astical rites, war or peace, victory or defeat. It is dependent only on God, His Word, and men of faith in Him."¹

A somewhat similar statement appears in the findings of the National Study Conference at Delaware, Ohio. It is here quoted because it relates the conception of the church as a spiritual body to the problems that will be considered in the following chapters.²

"We declare as the major premise that the Church is a spiritual entity, one and indivisible, which as such is not and cannot be broken by human conflicts. Therefore the Church is in a unique position to heal the wounds of war and bind the world together in a just and durable peace. We recognize the particular rights and responsibilities of the State in connection with the secular order. But we reaffirm the Christian truth that the Church in its essential nature is an ecumenical, supranational body, separate from and independent of all states including our own national state. The spiritual responsibilities of the Church and the spiritual service which it may render derive not from the claims which the State may make but from the freedom and autonomy of the Church itself under the Lord Jesus Christ who is its Living Head."

The Church in the Nation

The church throughout the world is the communion of believers, one and indivisible. "The Church is also a human organization. As a *human organization*, whether we consider

¹P. J. Hoh, "The Church and the Pastor in Wartime," *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*, XVI (July, 1942), p. 240.

²A Message from the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace, p. 16. (The work of the Delaware Conference is described in Chapter VI.)

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it narrowly, in its parochial limitations, or broadly, in its world-embracing structures, it is an organized association of human beings having certain things, usually regarded as religious, in common. This organization of human beings is, partly at least, under the jurisdiction of men. Its form of organization, its government, its meetings, its property, its relation to other social groups, and other such human and material elements of its life, are within the jurisdiction of human authorities, ecclesiastical and secular. It is dependent on many human and material things, one of which is the state. The state may, quite properly, regulate aspects of the church's life as this life impinges upon the life of the state. It may, for instance, grant or refuse incorporation to a church, tax or exempt from tax a church's holdings, regulate the church's financial transactions, close church buildings and prohibit church assemblies, draft church members and take possession of church property for its own uses, when it deems any of these necessary for the public welfare.

"Now, our problem would be relatively simple were the church as organism and the church as organization two totally distinct and separate entities. They are not. There is a relation between them—at least, should be. The organism should find embodiment in the organization; the organization should give expression and furtherance to the organism. And, imperfectly and incompletely, this is what they do. . . ." ¹

The Christian is therefore a member of the church as a spiritual organism and of the church as a human organization. He is also a citizen of his country. While standing in these three relationships, he remains one and the same person. *He must seek to maintain one and the same set of standards. Only*

¹P. J. Hoh, op. cit., p. 240f.

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in this way can he preserve his integrity and exert a Christian influence upon the social group to which he belongs. Allegiance to country dare never violate the dictates of conscience. Be it remembered, however, that the Christian is accountable to God and to man for the enlightenment of the conscience by which he is controlled. To this process of enlightenment on the issues of peace and postwar settlements the following chapters are devoted. The freedom of the Christian carries with it the responsibility of careful study and of humble decision.

CHAPTER III

The Causes or Roots of War

If all the people in the world were given a chance to express their views, the large majority would without doubt declare themselves most strongly opposed to war. Why, then, do wars continue to arise? Are they brought about by a small group who hope to gain profit from them or who find satisfaction in the excitement of battle? Are they perhaps rooted in a combination of highly complex and involved causes which the human race has not yet been able to remove? These questions are most important. When a rash has broken out on a patient's skin, the physician is not satisfied to treat it superficially with a salve; he wants to know what has produced the symptom in order that he may attack the basic cause and prevent a recurrence of the disorder. Similarly, we must direct our attention to the forces responsible for war in order that our efforts toward world peace may be intelligent and fruitful.

1. In how far are people—their characters, their ambitions and interests, their plans and activities—responsible for war? Is the average citizen ordinarily aware of his share in the guilt of national selfishness?
2. What part do the following play as causes for war: tariffs, currency, colonial possessions, access to raw materials, control of the seas, immigration restrictions, international government?

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3. In how far do these specific causes tie up with the basic problem of people?
4. To what extent do the existence of these causes and the recurrence of war indicate failure of the church to have fulfilled its mission?

People

In how far are people—their characters, their ambitions and interests, their plans and activities—responsible for war? Think of a situation in an ordinary social group. It is natural for a person first of all to provide for his own wants and for the needs of those dependent upon him. This natural tendency may be in no sense wrong. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness demand a measure of material benefits. However, when an individual follows a purely selfish course without consideration of the rights and privileges of other people, he runs the risk of depriving his fellow men of their just due. He gives no thought to the effect which his action has upon his associates and thus is unaware of his selfishness. Or he realizes that his personal gain is unfairly depriving others but willfully continues his unjust practices. Inevitably, something happens to the individuals who are deprived. They may suffer their deprivation in silence. If the situation becomes grave enough, they will rebel and claim at least what they consider their rightful part.

In a slightly different way, the same kind of situation appears in relations among nations of the world. National leaders, whether elected by democratic procedure or in a position of power gained by force, seek first of all to provide for the people under their jurisdiction. This is quite understandable and need cause no difficulty. However, leaders are not entirely free agents. Their policy is usually determined by the most powerful and most vocal groups in the country. As they

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provide the best for their own constituency they often work hardship upon other countries. The average run of citizens may be entirely ignorant of their national selfishness and the injustice it is promoting; or they may purposefully support a selfish national policy in spite of the fact that difficulties are thereby created for people in other lands. If an offended nation is driven far enough in its desperation, it will resort to force in order to get what it needs or in order to maintain its self-respect. In one form or another, selfishness as a national policy can be traced to the selfishness of people. Whether the selfishness be one of ignorance, indifference, or intention, its effect upon other nations will be the same.

Closely associated with self-preservation, self-protection, and self-gain are a number of factors with international significance. These are not necessarily wrong in themselves. Only when prompted by selfishness or lack of regard for others do they stand as causes for war.

Tariffs

The tariff is a system of taxes on imports used by a government for either or both of two purposes. The first—to secure money for the support of the government—is quite obvious. If administered without discrimination, it offers little disturbance to harmony in international relations. The second—to protect industries within a country—gives a more powerful nation tremendous advantage over weaker nations. An industry in one country may not be in a position to compete with the products of a similar industry in another country. If its leaders individually or in combination with leaders in other industries can summon enough influence, they will be able to have a protective tariff adopted. The effect upon that country whose products are thus excluded, or admitted only

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under a high tariff, can readily be seen. As soon as its selling power is limited, its buying power is also reduced. It is placed in a position where it can no longer make its normal purchases. When this one instance is multiplied, as has actually been the case, a form of poverty in the midst of plenty is reached. Some nations will be starving while others have accumulated vast stores of products.

If each country is permitted to establish its own tariff systems, inequalities and injustices are bound to exist. Unrest will surely follow; conditions will be favorable for the rise to power of unscrupulous leaders. Many people are contending that tariffs for the protection of industry should be supplanted by free trade. Others claim that there must at least be some kind of international control over tariffs, in order to permit equitable adjustments.

Currency

Money has no value in itself. It takes on significance only as it can be used as a buying medium. The purchasing power of money is determined by the value a group attaches to it. As long as transactions remain within the single nation which establishes the monetary value, little difficulty is encountered. As soon as transactions become international or intergroup, differences in value are significant. An extreme example is found in Germany around 1923, when the mark reached a low point of 4,500,000,000,000 to a dollar. Since the commerce of nations is so closely interrelated, Germany was bankrupt, and its citizens whose holdings were not in real property lost everything they had saved.

While this is an extraordinary case, the principle holds true in general application. The prosperity of a country depends not only on what it can produce, but also on what it can sell

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and buy on an international market. Inequalities in currency consequently contribute to instability.

Colonial Possessions

With the gradual discovery of new parts of the world and the settlement of new areas, nations with sufficient power laid claim to certain territories and colonies. Exploitation of resources was not uncommon. Considerable improvement has taken place and much more attention is paid to the well-being of colonial groups. It is, nevertheless, inevitable that in any system of national control over colonies, the interests of the holding country should always be uppermost, or in some way be taken into account.

A variety of conditions fertile to war exists wherever a somewhat powerful nation regards a territory and its inhabitants as personal property. A colonial people may rebel against some form of exploitation, or they may merely reach a point where group or racial pride leads to a declaration of independence. Granting a sufficient measure of physical and material strength, they will resort to war. Or a powerful nation near a colony which is held by a distant nation may feel that its operations are restricted and thus find an excuse for precipitating warlike acts. Even in times of peace, when friendly relations are maintained, colonial possessions are a disturbing factor because of the everlasting threat of war. A colony may be entirely harmless to a near-by nation in normal times and yet become a thorn in its side in the event that war should be declared with the holding country. The view that colonies should be made independent as rapidly as possible is gaining ground. It is further claimed that, as long as some outside control is needed in any colonial possession, the con-

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trol should be administered on an international instead of a national basis.

Access to Raw Materials

No nation of the world is, at the present time, completely self-sufficient. Even the tremendous advance in the development of substitutes and synthetic materials has not freed nations from their dependence upon raw materials found in abundance only outside their own borders. Consequently, the more powerful nations have scrambled to secure a hold upon materials which are wanting or limited among their own resources. The problems thus created tie up closely with at least two of the preceding factors.

Fairly close trade relations inevitably exist between a colony and its mother country. This tends to give one nation a prior claim on the needed raw materials of its colonial possessions. It is contended that raw materials are sold on an open market and are therefore generally accessible. The truth of this contention is seriously limited by trade restrictions and by the purchasing power of any nation. Further, the possibility of utilizing raw materials is closed to enemy nations in the event of war. Since the threat of war has never been dispelled in our modern civilization, access to raw materials in times of peace is not adequate.

Control of the Seas

Economic power and naval power go hand in hand. The ability to import raw materials and to export finished products is largely dependent upon the facilities for ocean transportation. While the airplane has demonstrated itself a determining factor in time of war, it has not yet reached the point where it can compete with the economy of ocean shipping. The

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nation that is in a position to maintain a large commercial fleet is usually in a position also to maintain a powerful navy for military purposes. Granting its predominant sea power, it can frequently dictate commercial relations by its voiced or implied threat of war. This becomes of greater significance when, in addition to control of the seas, a nation has important waterways under its protected jurisdiction. The British hold on Gibraltar and Suez, and the United States' hold on Panama —no matter how equitable administrations may have been in peace times—have been sources of irritation to other major powers of the world.

The various attempts to equalize the naval power of leading nations during the past twenty-five years indicate the significance which attaches to the control of the seas. As long as inequalities continue to exist between the so-called "have" nations and "have-not" nations, a cause for irritation will remain.

Immigration Restrictions

The population of the world is not equally distributed. Nor is there any equality of distribution in relation to resources or to opportunity for development. With the improvement of transportation facilities and with the more widespread recognition of inequalities, there has been a growing tendency for populations to shift. Newer countries, such as the Americas, have been more affected. They have held greater attraction for the denser populations of Europe and Asia.

The shift of population creates a twofold problem for nations which attract foreigners to their borders. The first is the increased difficulty in maintaining a standard of living to which people have committed themselves. The speed of immigration must be adjusted to the possibility of absorption. When a nation feels the necessity to restrict immigration, a

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second problem arises. The country from which people emigrated may regard any restriction with disfavor and, in some instances—for example, the Oriental Exclusion Act—consider it a reflection on national character. The possibility of poor judgment in limiting immigration and the possibility of misunderstanding the limitations imposed must be noted as further contributing to international tension.

International Government

Ever since the breakup of the Holy Roman Empire, forms of national government have been in process of development. Since national sovereignty reached its height of power, no new type—at least, no international type—of government has been evolved. The causes for war which we have discussed arise when the life of one nation touches the affairs of other nations. Any one nation which feels its borders too restricted for its life or which believes it has suffered at the hands of other countries—in trade restrictions, in the treatment of minority nationals, or in any conceivable way—may launch an enormous armament program, secretly or openly. When it has built up sufficient power, it will demand what it wants. Granting an unscrupulous leadership, as our day has produced, it will wage ruthless war on all who stand in its path. The only recourse for other nations is to arm themselves with equal power and, separately or jointly, to seek to destroy the evil in the creation of which they had at least some part.

While the matter will be more fully discussed later, it seems appropriate at this time to raise the question: Are we today suffering from a disjointed or unbalanced development? Since nations live so much more closely together and have so many more vital contacts, is it not imperative that there should be set up some kind of international government to discern

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difficulties before they reach an acute stage and with sufficient power to act?

The Church and the Causes of War

A careful study of the world situation reveals that the causes for war are many and closely related. An impartial view of these causes forces the conclusion that none of them operates apart from people. It is people who make tariffs, determine the systems of currency, dispose of colonial possessions, build ships, make laws, and the like. Whether through force of circumstances, shortsightedness, or plain selfishness, people have not realized their opportunities or fulfilled their responsibilities. As a Christian Church, we must penitently accept our share in the blame. For the church's primary concern is with people—to make the Gospel effective in their lives.

CHAPTER IV

How Peace is Made

"Not wars, but peace treaties, make enemies and sow the seeds for future wars," someone has said. This is obviously a debatable statement. Nevertheless, it has been true often enough to give us serious pause. The claim that the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles set the stage for the second world war cannot be lightly dismissed. It may be somewhat exaggerated. It contains enough truth to suggest value in a study of the steps whereby the Treaty was established. Concerning the background of the Versailles Conference and the manner in which its decisions were reached, authorities are in substantial agreement. The material pertaining to this development accordingly represents the consensus of opinions held by reputable historians.

In reviewing the deliberations which led to the signing of the Versailles Treaty and to the formation of the League of Nations, we must not expect to find a procedure usable for the close of every war. No two situations will prove to be identical. The causes which have produced a war, the nations involved, the nature of the fighting, the manner in which a conclusion is reached—all these vitally affect the final peace. Notwithstanding anticipated differences, it will be worth our while to have clearly before us the development of the treaty which had so powerful an effect upon the life of the world.

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1. What was the purpose of President Wilson's address to Congress on January 8, 1918? Compare some of the twenty-five points with the causes for war discussed in the preceding chapter.
2. What weaknesses seem to have been present in arrangements for the armistice and for the period immediately following?
3. What were some of the difficulties encountered at the Peace Conference?
4. In how far did the final peace treaty correspond with the twenty-five points of President Wilson? Do you consider satisfactory the manner in which the nations concerned finally signed the peace treaty?
5. What was the purpose of the League of Nations? Ought the United States to have become a member?
6. What lessons can be learned from the manner in which peace was made after the first world war?

1. *War Aims and Peace Terms*

On January 8, 1918, President Wilson addressed the United States Congress on the subject, "A Statement of the War Aims and Peace Terms of the United States." His intention was to set forth the bases on which the war could be ended and on which permanent peace plans could be built. His address included the now famous *Fourteen Points*. An abbreviated statement of them is here given as a basis for comparison with the peace aims of our own day.

1. No secret treaties; covenants to be openly arrived at and publicly known.
2. Absolute freedom of the seas except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action.

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3. The removal, insofar as possible, of trade barriers and the equality of trade conditions among all nations.
4. The reduction of armaments to a point consistent with domestic safety.
5. Colonial settlements giving equal weight to the interests of the populations concerned and to the claims of the government whose title is in question.
6. A settlement of Russian problems to permit the independent determination of her own political development.
7. The restoration of Belgium.
8. The restoration of all French territory.
9. The readjustment of Italian boundaries on lines of nationality.
10. Free opportunity for autonomous development in Austria-Hungary.
11. Restoration of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro on lines of nationality.
12. The nationalities under Turkish rule to be given the right of self-determination.
13. The erection of a Polish State with free access to the sea.
14. The promotion of an association of nations to guarantee political independence and territorial integrity to all nations, both great and small (League of Nations).

In subsequent addresses, Mr. Wilson advanced further conditions to be considered in peace negotiations. These involved eleven additional points.

1. A new international order based upon principles of right and justice.
2. Destruction of arbitrary power anywhere.
3. Abolition of all military alliances . . . and balances of power.

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4. Equality of all nations in rights and privileges.
5. The right of self-determination.
6. The world must be safe for democracy.
7. People shall be governed only by their own consent.
8. There shall be no annexation or bartering of provinces.
9. All nations having part in the war must also have part in the peace settlement.
10. Discrimination shall be avoided.
11. There shall be no punitive damages.

The original address, containing the Fourteen Points, was made to the Congress of the United States. It was really intended for the entire world. Through a variety of means, the import of Mr. Wilson's statements was widely distributed throughout Germany in the German language. The Fourteen Points were supposed to be first of all a basis for the cessation of fighting. As far as can be ascertained, this was not the real understanding of all the Allied Nations. Certainly, subsequent developments indicated that not all the Allied Nations had fully committed themselves to these principles.

2. The Armistice

An armistice was declared on November 11, 1918. There was a general understanding, especially on the part of Germany and the United States, that the Fourteen Points would be a basis for the deliberations that were to follow. Some provisions were made to care for the period between the armistice and the final peace settlement. These included the surrender of military equipment by Germany and the occupation of German territory west of the Rhine by the Allied troops. Further, vast stores of food and clothing were distributed to the destitute people in vanquished and victor nations alike.

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Little more than this was done to control provisional arrangements. Each of the more than twenty governments proceeded along independent lines with its political reconstruction. The map of Europe was pretty well fixed before the peace conference actually convened. The fact that provisions for immediate postwar reconstruction were inadequate made impossible an early development along the ideal lines originally implied in the Fourteen Points. It also prevented a sufficiently long cooling-off or experimental period between the armistice and the peace conference.

3. Peace Conference

The peace conference convened at Versailles on January 18, 1919. This was little more than two months after the signing of the armistice. Four representatives of the major allied nations were key personalities—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando. Contrary to one of the provisions Mr. Wilson had made, Germany was allowed no representation.

All kinds of difficulties were bound to be encountered as the conference set about performing its task. Wilson's proposals were idealistic and were not accompanied by the practical, forthright plans which were needed to put them into practice. The commitment to these ideals, as previously indicated, was at best lukewarm on the part of the European allies. There was a decided contrast between the American and the European attitude. America had entered the war comparatively late. Her people had been most remote from the scene of conflict. Hatreds were far less severe. The distance by which the United States was removed from the European scene gave little cause for fear of future invasion. The people of Europe were in a vastly different position. They had endured the immediate brunt of the war. They were also faced with the

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necessity of guarding against a future attack by an enemy on their very borders. Their hatred and their desire for extreme measures were proportionately more pronounced.

Accordingly national interests predominated. Each representative was sharply on the lookout for his own country's well-being. There was little clear thought about laying the foundations for international life in equity and justice. Punitive measures were sought. The situation was further complicated by the fact that a number of treaties had been made during the war by which certain arbitrary territorial allotments were granted in the event of victory. Apparently not all the Allied Nations had been fully informed about the commitments which members of their group had made.

In the face of these and many other difficulties, it is not surprising that the bewildered Wilson had to forego many of the ideals which he had originally planned to include in the final peace settlement. He continued to fix his hope upon a League of Nations through which the highly necessary adjustments and revisions could be made.

4. The Peace Treaty

When the peace treaty was finally drawn, only five of Wilson's fourteen original and eleven additional points were included. To illustrate, secret covenants had been made and continued to be made. There was no move towards complete freedom of the seas. Practically every country inaugurated new tariff restrictions. The only disarmament required was that of the vanquished nations. Colonial peoples were put under mandates, but the mandates were administered by separate nations as personal property. There was no self-determination of peoples. The punitive reparations demanded were so enormous that financial stability for Germany was impossible.

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The French and the Italian delegations signed the treaty. American endorsement was prompted by the feeling of need for some sort of immediate peace to prevent chaos. General Smutz affixed his signature as a British delegate and immediately issued a public statement denouncing the treaty and demanding revision. It was difficult to find a German representative to sign for the vanquished nation. Only when the allied armies began to mobilize for an invasion of Germany was someone finally found to sign.

The United States Senate could not summon the necessary two thirds majority to approve the treaty. When Congress passed a joint resolution ending the war with Germany, President Wilson vetoed it because it did not ratify the Versailles Treaty. Not until the administration of President Harding were separate peace treaties signed with Germany, Austria, and Hungary.

5. The League of Nations

From the outset, Mr. Wilson had planned some kind of a League of Nations wherein various problems of international significance could be fairly and effectively met. With the defeat of many of his original proposals for the peace settlement, his hopes turned increasingly to the League as an agency for readjustments. His personal insistence was unquestionably a major factor in the decision of the conference to establish the League of Nations. Mr. Wilson returned to the United States with a tentative draft of the proposed organization. Numerous suggestions which he received from Congress were subsequently incorporated. While he was on his second trip to the conference, opposition to the League became quite pronounced. The interests of political factions were introduced. This was evident at a special meeting of Congress in

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May, 1919. A speaking tour appealing to the public opinion of the American people was without effect. The League of Nations was established, but the United States refused to accept membership.

Lessons from the Versailles Treaty

Complete agreement about the results of the Versailles Treaty is not to be expected. Nevertheless, some lessons can be learned from the successes and failures of the past. No claim of finality is made for the statements which here follow. They are offered merely as observations which may be of help in shaping attitudes and procedures in our present situation.

1. At least general plans for peace settlement ought to be made before the close of the war. They must be definite enough to indicate what shall be done in a practical way; they must be flexible enough to admit of adjustment to changing conditions.
2. All co-operating nations ought to have a part in making plans and ought to be in substantial agreement with them.
3. The ruling bodies of the co-operating nations ought to be fully informed about proposals and ought to be given an opportunity to express reactions.
4. The people of the co-operating nations must know what is happening and must be prepared to make their convictions known.
5. In the process of formulating plans, the commitments or promises of individual nations ought to be taken into account; future secret treaties ought to be avoided.
6. A period of not less than one year, perhaps more nearly three, ought to be allowed between the armistice and the peace settlement in order that hatreds and desire for vengeance may give way to cool and impartial thinking.

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7. During this period between the armistice and a final peace settlement, the provisions for international relations ought to be of the kind that will lay an adequate foundation for the final peace plan.

8. During this interim period, citizens in all co-operating countries must continue their interest, study, and activity.

The above observations have to do largely with the procedures that will be helpful in achieving desired results. What are the desired results? What kind of a peace settlement shall we strive for and seek to maintain? Does the message of the Christian Church shed light upon the answer to this question? What is the church's responsibility?

CHAPTER V

The Church and Peace

The peace treaty, following a war in which the major nations of the world are involved, is highly significant. Its provisions are intended to govern the life of nations in the era that follows. If the provisions are inadequate, the causes that make for war will be allowed to remain and to grow. If the people responsible for administering the provisions are prompted by selfish interests, evils are bound to creep in and new difficulties will inevitably arise. The Christian Church, to which has been entrusted the preaching of the Gospel, is practically coextensive with the inhabited world. Does the Christian Church, with its message and its influence, have a responsibility and an opportunity to make a contribution to world peace? This problem we must now face.

1. What are two outstanding needs which must be met by way of preparing for a lasting peace? In what order or sequence can they be met?
2. How does international peace differ from the kind of peace with which the church's message is usually concerned? Can the church be legitimately interested in peace among nations? What limitations or cautions ought to be observed?
3. Mention and discuss five ways in which the church can contribute to a lasting peace. Can you think of additional ways?

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4. Why does the individual Christian have more freedom than the church in reacting to and in supporting specific peace plans? What is his responsibility in this regard?

Minimum Essentials for Peace

At the close of Chapter IV a group of observations on conditions favorable to a just and durable peace was listed. Among these conditions two stand out as minimum essentials. The selection of only two primary needs is not intended to detract from the importance of the others; it merely serves to bring the most significant aspects of the problem into clearer relief.

The *first* is to develop a plan according to which the nations of the world may live together amicably and peacefully. It must include means whereby the tensions which will inevitably arise may normally be relieved by nonmilitaristic settlement—at least by a settlement where one nation does not resort to arms against another nation. A plan of this kind may be introduced in its entirety at the outset, or it may be constructed for gradual introduction, proceeding from the more simple to the more complex provisions.

The *second* is to secure strong enough enlightened popular support to insure the adoption of such a plan. This enlightened support must be forthcoming from the mass of citizens. Especially in a democratic form of society, the will of the people can make its power felt. The support must also be found among governmental officials. For it is the representatives of governments who make treaties and plans to order the lives of nations.

These two needs will not necessarily be met in consecutive order. An enlightened public opinion may call for and contribute to the development of a plan. Moreover, ignorance

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of the detailed conditions that will exist at the time when the plan is to be put into operation may make highly specific provisions impossible; and yet popular sentiment favoring the general features of the plan must be awakened. While forward steps in ordering human relations can be taken at any period, the time when men are laboring under the strain of war or when the horrors of war are still fresh in their minds offers more incentive to needed changes and the accompanying sacrifices.

The Place of the Church

Assuming that this twofold statement represents the problem in irreducible terms, what part shall the church play? Clear thinking is highly important at this point. The primary function of the church is to preach the Gospel at all times; that is, to seek to make the Gospel effective in the life of man. This involves, first of all, the establishment of a right relationship between the individual believer and God, through Christ. Closely associated with this is the establishment of right relations among individuals who stand in immediate or even distant contact with each other. In the traditional performance of its task, the church has concerned itself with these two implications of the Gospel.

We are now confronted with a problem which moves beyond the two areas already mentioned. Does it lie within the province of the church to seek to bring peace not only to the individual in his relations with God, not only to the individual in his relations with other individuals, but also to groups of people or nations with other nations? Quite specifically, does it lie within the church's function to seek to remove or to decrease the more frequently recurring occasions of international conflict? Is the church interested in world peace, that is, in peace among the nations of the world?

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An affirmative answer seems unavoidable. Since it is the function of the church to preach the Gospel at all times and under all circumstances, the church must "discern" the times and the seasons and must "decipher the meaning" of each succeeding era and bear witness to the word and will of God in each concrete situation. In so doing the church will issue a call to repentance in which both church and nation shall acknowledge their separate and corporate guilt before God. In their purely temporal aspects and apart from their spiritual functions, the churches are powerful social institutions. As such they must concern themselves at all times in a vital and primary way with social confusion and chaos.¹ The affirmative answer is supported both by the spiritual and temporal aspects of the church. However, in order that the distinctive nature of the church may be sustained, two limitations ought to be observed.

1. The church must set forth only those principles and proposals for group relationships which, in the mind of its leaders, will give expression to the truth of the Gospel under any circumstances. The suggestions which the church offers cannot be premised upon the result of a war. Its recommendations must be the kind that would make for harmonious international life at any time. The possibility of initiating such plans and of carrying them to real effectiveness is recognizedly conditional upon a victory in any war by the side that is more altruistically inclined and that has the well-being of all mankind more at heart. The recognition that constructive plans may more readily be put into prac-

¹ A Message from the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace, p. 9.

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tice in the event of such a victory may be a strong motive for individuals to participate in a government's foreign policies to whatever extent their consciences permit. This, however, does not affect the proposals of the church, for the church as such must proclaim a truth that ought to be applied under any conditions.

2. In that the church is concerned with the proclamation of fundamental truth, it must be careful about the support it offers any specific proposal. It cannot be the devotee of any one of the varied plans for postwar settlements now being advanced; nor can it be the proponent of any one political party, form of government, or system of economics. Recognizing this limitation, the church may weigh the worth of specific proposals and indicate the extent to which the specific proposals hold promise of exemplifying the right relations among individuals and nations for which it contends.

With these limitations in mind, the church must take its task seriously. Wherever human need exists—among individuals or among nations—the church must bring its message of reconciliation, comfort, and strength. The more urgent the need, the greater are the church's responsibility and opportunity. A few specific lines of procedure are here suggested. In some instances, changing times and circumstances will dictate the need for adjustments.

1. *Preaching the Gospel*

When chaos and confusion prevail throughout the world, the church must be increasingly diligent in the performance of its established work. Through its ministry of preaching,

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teaching, service—in all accepted lines at home and abroad, to men in all stations and walks of life—the church must proclaim with all power and effectiveness the reconciling love of God in Jesus Christ. This is its first task. Only through the performance thereof can it hope to contend with the selfishness which lies at the root of human problems and offset the hatreds which wars arouse.

2. Definition of Christian Premises for Peace

Political, economic, and social factors are vital considerations in a plan for world peace. The disposition of these lies not with churchmen but with specialists in the various fields. However, to guide specialists in identifying and composing provisions that will be in harmony with Christian principles, it is necessary for the church, through its appointed leaders, to define the Christian premises upon which a just and durable peace must be based. From the entire Gospel must be drawn those truths which pertain particularly to relations among the peoples of the world. (Chapter VII will illustrate the kind of work church leaders have been doing along this line.)

3. Education about World Peace

The church must accept the responsibility of educating its own constituency so that each church member will be equipped to make his contribution as a Christian citizen. Many separate communions are constructing courses on postwar settlements for use by young people and adults in the Sunday church school or in informal study groups. The entire congregation in every church ought to be kept informed of developments in the movement towards world peace. While the issue must be properly balanced with the full scope of the

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Gospel, there is place for sermons and announcements with the purpose of keeping Christians moving towards the final objective. In some congregations, committees have been appointed to administer all matters that pertain to the subject of peace—study courses, the dissemination of up-to-date information, and the preparation for action when the opportune time arrives.

4. Effective Contacts with Government Officials

It is an obvious fact that representatives of governments, not of churches, will draw and act upon peace proposals and make subsequent treaties. To delay action until a peace conference or a treaty conference is held may well spell disaster. Church leaders must fashion some plan of procedure which will establish a point of contact with national leaders as early as possible and maintain that contact until a satisfactory final decision has been reached and satisfactory effects are in evidence.

As individual Christians become informed about their responsibilities and opportunities, they may express their convictions to their state or federal representatives. Church groups or groups of churchmen may express to the government the opinions held by a majority of their constituencies. Such expression of opinion may be official if the church is willing to commit itself to a formal stand. Or it may be unofficial as was the case when the findings of the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace were transmitted to the federal government at Washington under the following resolution:¹

"WHEREAS, The National Study Conference has noted with deep satisfaction the steps now being taken by the government

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

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of the United States to anticipate the needs and problems of the postwar period, and WHEREAS, This Conference within its competence has been engaged in an effort to make articulate the concern of our churches for a peace that shall be just and durable, be it *Resolved*, That this Conference call upon the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace to lay before the President of the United States and other government officials the findings of this Conference."

5. *Co-operation with Other Churches*

As the voice of Christendom becomes more concerted, the possibility of a serious hearing increases. This holds true for the entire world; it has direct bearing on our situation in the United States.

Organic union among various churches is not here involved. The question has to do with co-operation towards an objective upon which there is substantial unanimity of opinion. Too frequently differences have been magnified or distorted and agreements minimized or overlooked. Can we, with clear conscience, hold aloof from or be lukewarm towards the efforts of those in whose final purpose we concur? It seems specious to say that we cannot accept the statements formulated by others when we refuse to share the responsibility of formulating the statements.

The claim may validly be advanced that co-operation must not stop with those who pass under the name of Christian, but must be extended to men of good will everywhere. There are times when the statement, "He that is not with me is against me," holds true. We must never forget that Jesus also said, "For he that is not against us is for us."

There seems to be enough similarity among the public statements of different groups to warrant the conclusion that men

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of good will, Christians and other than Christians alike, are bent upon the same final objective of peace among the nations of the world, and are in agreement concerning many of the conditions essential to that goal. Each group must be free to continue to stand for that which represents its peculiar nature. Each group will introduce its emphasis upon world peace in such a way as not to rob its other accepted objectives of the proportion that is their due. Each group will educate its own constituency concerning the contribution which they, with others, can make toward the adequate ordering of international life. As all groups proceed with this unified effort, there will be aroused an enlightened popular sentiment which governmental leaders will neither desire nor dare to ignore.

While the war is being fought, such popular sentiment may be transmitted through a host of casual channels or through formally introduced documents. It will thus perforce have weight with governmental leaders while they are in the process of anticipating and formulating general plans. When the war is over, this popular sentiment may possibly be communicated to the delegates at an official peace conference by a formal world session of representative churchmen. When national governments vote upon the proposals formulated by the official peace conference, public sentiment in the different nations will again be in a position to make its power felt.

The Place of the Individual Christian

To a certain extent, the individual Christian has more freedom than the church in reacting to and in supporting specific proposals. His first responsibility, however, is to enlighten his conscience by a diligent study of Christian truth. A complete chapter (Chapter XII) will be devoted to opportunities open to the Christian in his effort to promote world peace.

CHAPTER VI

Movements Toward Peace

Throughout the centuries, wars have been considered an unavoidable means for settling international differences. As the peoples of the world have been drawn more closely together through improvements in transportation and communication, wars have become more nearly world-wide in their scope. With the heightened development of industry, they have increased in their severity and horror. Not all men, however, have accepted the view that war is justifiable or even unavoidable. Some have taken the extreme position of pacifism and contend that all war is wrong. Notable among the adherents to this position are members of the Society of Friends. They will have no part in the destructive activities of fighting. In times of conflict, they express their conception of a way of life in a ministry to those who are in suffering or in want. Others have reserved for themselves the right to judge whether or not the cause of a war is just. They seek to obtain all available information. With whatever impartiality they can maintain, they arrive at a conclusion and then follow the dictates of conscience.

One effect of this growing concern about the right and wrong of war has been to stimulate a variety of group movements in the direction of peace. Agencies devoted specifically to the prevention of war have come into being. Organizations

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whose recognized purposes are more inclusive or different have included the subject as worthy of special study. In times of war and of peace, investigations have been continuing and findings produced. The purpose of the present chapter is to tell something about this development. The movements are quite numerous and extensive. Only a few can here be referred to by way of illustration.

1. In what way do Christians throughout the world seem to be drawing closer together? What opinions have been expressed by Christian leaders in world conventions on the following:
 - a. What is the root or origin of ecumenical movements?
 - b. There is a union of law and force in the life of a single nation. Is this true in relations among different nations? What influence can the Christian Church exert?
 - c. What responsibilities rest on those who have political power? Can these responsibilities be more easily met when national government exists alone, or when there are both national and international governments?
2. How can the movement toward world Christianity contribute to world peace?
3. Why is it important that people should study about peace while a war is being fought? What did the Malvern Conference say about the war as a symptom? About the church? About the Christian doctrine?
4. Mention five reports contained in the findings of the Delaware conference. How ought these reports to be viewed?

World Christianity

Over the last twenty years Christian churches throughout the world have been drawn more closely together. Repre-

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sentatives of church bodies have met in world conventions to study their common faith and to attack their common problems. In the course of their deliberations, many matters of international moment have been considered. In order to give an impression of the possibilities for world peace in this movement towards world Christianity, a few excerpts from the findings of some of these conventions are given. The brevity of the quotations must not be misleading. Remember that at least one full volume has been published to report the findings of each convention.

1. *The Second Lutheran World Convention* *Copenhagen, 1929*

One evidence of the trend towards world Christianity is found in world conventions which have been called by separate denominations. The Lutheran World Convention at Copenhagen is cited as an illustration. Representatives from churches in twenty-one countries were in attendance. The following quotation is taken from the report of the Executive Committee.¹

"Within the sphere of politics, modern internationalism is manifesting itself in contrast to nationalism. The ideal of internationalism is rooted in the concept of the unity of mankind, which is also a postulate of Christian universality. . . . But, although internationalism may offer them an occasion, opportunity or an impulse, it is by no means the cause of the ecumenical movements within the Christian Church. These movements are far more deeply rooted. Their origin is to be found in the universal human need of salvation, in the universal Christian message, in the obligation of all believers

¹ "Report of the Executive Committee," presented by President Morehead, *The Second Lutheran World Convention*, 1929, p. 159.

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to the missionary enterprise, and in the one divine Saviour of mankind, to Whom every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that He is Lord to the glory of God the Father."

2. *The World Conference on Church, Community, and State* *Oxford, 1937*

With two main exceptions, the Oxford Conference included representation from all the Christian groups of the world. While scholars of the Roman Church had given valuable though unofficial assistance in the preparatory work, the Church of Rome was averse to any official participation. The German Evangelical Church was not able, at that particular time, to send delegates. The problem of the Conference, introduced by Bishop J. H. Oldham, was to find "how religion is to survive in a single community which is neither church nor state, which recognizes no formal limits, but which covers the whole of life and claims to be the source and goal of every human activity."¹ The following statement—a part of the Report of the Section on the Universal Church and the World of Nations—will shed some light on views held by the Conference.²

"We must recognize that relations between states have not been brought under the rule of law in the same way as relations between citizens or social groups within the borders of states. The life of the state—or at least of civilized or constitutional states—represents a union between law and force. Thus is insured the working of two processes, separable in theory but inextricably blended in practice—the observance

¹ "Introduction," by J. H. Oldham. *The Oxford Conference*, p. 1.

² "Report of the Section on the Universal Church and the World of Nations." *The Oxford Conference*, 1937 (Official Report), pp. 156-158.

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and enforcement of law and the constant and steady development of the law to conform to changing social needs.

"When we turn to the field of interstate relations we find a very different condition. Here law and force have never yet been brought into an effective working partnership. The various political units into which the world is divided stand side by side without any organic connection. They are not merely separate states but separate societies differing in custom and tradition, in outlook and culture, which are among the principal elements that go to the making of law and provide law with so much of its authority. International law, which is the body of rules laid down in treaties and other documents for the conduct of states, is incomplete, and has not commanded general respect because it originates in a sphere remote from ordinary men and women and has not yet been brought into effective touch with their social consciousness. Relations between states have been and still are conceived and carried on chiefly in terms of power. The traditional criterion of what constitutes a 'great power' is a standing challenge to Christian people, more especially to those who are citizens of 'great powers.'

"Various means have been suggested on the political plane for dealing with this problem. The simplest and most radical is to abolish the system of power-relations by subordinating the concept of independent sovereignty through the establishment of a federal system. Another solution, attempted by the League of Nations, is to create an organization providing for constant and regular co-operation between states, thus promoting common habits and standards which may in time form the basis of a common law.

"So far as the present evil is political, the heart of it is to be found in the claim of each national state to be judge in

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its own cause. The abandonment of that claim, and the abrogation of absolute national sovereignty at least to that extent, is a duty that the church should urge upon the nations.

"But political remedies of this kind are not enough. The evil lies deeper down, in the ingrained habits and attitudes which find expression in the power-relationship. Within the state, power has been curbed by constitutional checks and has been made subject to a sense of responsibility. In the international field and often in relationship to colonial dependencies power is still, broadly speaking, irresponsible. It is here that the Christian Church and individual Christians have an opportunity to bring their influence to bear upon international relations. For the power-relationship is not merely uncivilized; it is also utterly unchristian. 'Render unto Caesar' is not a counsel of acquiescence or of despair. Unless we are prepared to cut our life into two utterly separate halves, we must admit that it is our duty to do all that in us lies to bring Caesar—the traditions and practices of government—to the recognition of his duty to God."

3. *International Conference—World Council of Churches* *Geneva, 1939*

The World Conference on Church, Community, and State met at Oxford from July 12 to 26, 1937. The World Conference on Faith and Order was held at Edinburgh from August 3 to 18 of the same year. At their separate sessions, a resolution to establish the World Council of Churches was adopted. This new organization, including also other ecumenical movements, is still in the process of final organization. Its work is being carried on under the direction of the Provisional Committee. The following statement is taken from a Memorandum prepared by an International Conference of

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Lay Experts and Ecumenical Leaders convened by the Provisional Committee at Geneva, in 1939.¹

1. "Political power should always be exercised with a full sense of responsibility. All government involves the exercise of power, and there is therefore nothing unchristian or unethical about the nature of power in itself. But wherever there is power there is temptation to use it selfishly and carelessly, without due regard for the needs and interests of those who are affected by it. Such irresponsible use of power is definitely unchristian.

2. "All human beings are of equal worth in the eyes of God and should be so treated in the political sphere. It follows that the ruling power should not deny essential rights to human beings on the ground of their race or class or religion or culture or any such distinguishing characteristic.

3. "From these two principles there follows a third: the duty of the ruling power to develop equality before the law, from what may be a passive and a merely formal equality, into a political system which carries with it positive rights and duties. The function of the Christian ruler is so to use his responsibility as to render those, over whom his power extends, themselves more fully responsible, thereby adding to their human dignity and enabling them better to fulfil their social duties as men and Christians.

4. "Certain principles also stand out, in the light of recent experience in regard to the political structure needed for the conduct of world affairs. The chief of these is that no true

¹ "Excerpts from Memorandum Prepared by an International Conference of Lay Experts and Ecumenical Leaders Convened by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches (1939)." *A Just and Durable Peace*, published by the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace.

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government can exist without law, and that no law can exist without an ethos—that is to say, a sense of obligation in the conscience of the members of the community.

5. "It must be made clear to the people of our respective states that if Christian principles of national conduct are to be made effective there must be some form of international organization which will provide the machinery of conference and co-operation. . . .

8. "We are impressed by the fact that difficulties are often allowed to become acute before they are dealt with. We suggest that by international agreement there might be brought into being some continuing international machinery charged with the duty of detecting international difficulties at their incipient stage and when the problem is still of such proportions that it could be more easily dealt with."

The question may validly be raised: What significant effect can the movement towards world Christianity have upon the life of the world? It is not yet possible to give a true answer. The leaders of churches from all parts of the world have met together. They have come to know each other personally. They have expressed convictions on which they are in agreement as well as points of difference. All this has value in promoting a consciousness of world Christianity and in laying the foundation for drawing the peoples of the world into closer relationship. The full effect of the movement can be achieved only when the mind of the leaders is grasped and endorsed by the people whom they represent. Time and effort are required to make the conclusions of conventions effective in the far-flung life of mankind. The work of the Holy Spirit in accomplishing purposes which seem divine is sometimes slower than impatient man desires.

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Peace Conferences

The movement toward world Christianity found its expression in meetings held before the start of the second world war. Its significance for universal peace has been indicated. After the start of the war, a new movement—perhaps unprecedented in the history of all wars—got under way. It is manifest in the insistent concern of people in every walk of life about peace and the problems of postwar settlements. Particularly worthy of note is the fact that much of the study of peace is relatively objective. For all people, it is stimulated by the strain under which men live in time of war. Nevertheless, it is pursued with the idea that after the war an entirely fresh start must be made on premises which hold promise of avoiding a repetition of international strife. This concern about postwar settlements while the war is being fought offers a hopeful sign. Only as the enlightened voice of the masses constructively influences the proposals and declarations of the leaders can an equitable disposal of world affairs be achieved. As an expression of this widespread interest, and to offer it further stimulation, numerous conferences on the subject of peace have been held. Two outstanding ones are here briefly described.

1. The Malvern Conference, Malvern, England January, 1941

The Malvern Conference, attended by 200 prominent leaders of the Church of England, both clerical and lay, expressed itself on changes that ought to be effected in the British social order and in the relations of Great Britain with other nations. It attempted to attack the causes for the present world upheaval and, in a practical way, to set forth needed remedies. A few of the propositions follow.

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"The war is not to be regarded as an isolated evil detached from the general condition of western civilization during the last period. Rather it is to be seen as one symptom of a widespread disease and maladjustment resulting from loss of conviction concerning the reality and character of God, and the true nature and destiny of man.

"Because the Church is not an association of men gathered together by the act of their own wills, but is a creation of God in Jesus Christ, through which as His Body Christ carries on His work for men, it has the duty and the right to speak not only to its members but to the world concerning the true principles of human life. . . .

"The Christian doctrine of man as created and redeemed by God for eternal fellowship with Himself supplies on the one side the only sure foundation of freedom and of justice, and also on the other hand requires that men shall have an opportunity to become the best of which they are capable and shall find in the prosecution of their daily tasks fulfilment and not frustration of their human nature. Conversely the Christian doctrine of man as a child of God carries with it the sacredness of human personality, and a civilization or social order must be judged by the extent to which it recognizes this in practice.

"Because we have neglected the true end of man, we have lost the controlling principle which allots to human activities their proper sphere and due relations to one another. . . ."

2. The National Study Conference Delaware, Ohio, 1942

As a result of the widespread interest in postwar settlements throughout the United States, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America instituted the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. This Commis-

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sion is made up of men and women who have been nominated by their respective church bodies. However, the findings of the Commission are not to be considered binding upon the churches from which its representation is drawn.

In the autumn of 1941, the Commission decided to call a National Study Conference where the part which the church ought to play in a just and durable peace could be thoroughly discussed. This move may have been animated by the British Malvern Conference. The declaration of a state of war by the United States on December 8 seemed to offer no reasonable deterrent to the proposed conference. A number of preparatory studies were inaugurated. The Commission's Committee on Direction prepared the preliminary draft of a Statement of Guiding Principles. Four special committees were assigned the task of preparing discussion materials dealing with the specific functions of the church in the matter of peace, and with political, economic, and social aspects.

The Conference met at Ohio Wesleyan University, March 3 to 5. Three hundred seventy-seven persons attended. The professional conference-goer was conspicuously in the minority. The significance of the issue to be considered enlisted enthusiastic interest not only of clergymen, presidents and professors of universities and theological seminaries, but also of economists and statesmen. At the first plenary session of the Conference, it was agreed to limit the discussion to the problems of peace and post-war settlements. The immediate present and its complexities were to be introduced only insofar as they had direct bearing upon the achievement of peace.

To permit a more intensive consideration of the factors which are significant in a just and durable peace—church, political, economic, social—the Conference was divided into four sections. At its final plenary session, the Conference gave

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general endorsement to the Statement of Guiding Principles as revised by the Commission, and received and approved as to substance the somewhat more detailed reports prepared by each of the four sections. These findings have been published in a Bulletin entitled, "A Message from the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace." Reference will be made to this bulletin in the chapters that follow. It should be pointed out that the Conference spoke only for itself when it adopted its findings; it assumed full responsibility for their publication. The representatives in no sense considered their report a final product, but looked upon it rather as an early stage of thinking upon a highly important subject. Wide publicity was given the results of this meeting. While varying reactions have been expressed, they have, in the main, been quite favorable.

A Hopeful Sign

The concern about postwar settlements and a lasting peace has not been confined to church groups. A large number of independent agencies has been quite active. The government of the United States has numerous commissions at work on problems of internal and international reconstruction in the period following the war. In the spring of 1942 Vice-President Wallace and Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles made public addresses which at least in part reflected views advanced by church study conferences.

These movements offer an encouraging note. Leaders in church and state are giving serious thought to the needs of the present situation. Many constructive suggestions are being made. While it is impossible to keep informed concerning all details, a general understanding of current views is important. The consideration of some of these now lies before us.

CHAPTER VII

Basic Principles for Peace

The world is seeking a just and durable peace. The serious concern of people in every walk of life and the organized movements of church and nonchurch agencies are clear evidence of the intensity and scope of this desire. At the close of Chapter V some of the immediate and specific steps whereby the church can contribute to world peace were enumerated. The first task of the church is to preach the Gospel with diligence and power. In performing this task, the conditions of confusion and strife by which men are confronted must be taken into account. Special emphasis is therefore needed upon those principles of Christianity which have to do with the peaceful and orderly relations among the peoples of the world.

Church leaders of England and the United States have been giving serious thought and study to the formulation of principles which need to be observed in laying the foundation for a just and durable peace. Chapters VII to X are devoted to a consideration of results thus far achieved, particularly in American circles. The present chapter is concerned with general principles or premises and the uses to which they may be put. Somewhat more specific factors pertaining to political, economic, and social aspects of international relations will then be considered. Much of the material is drawn from the find-

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ings of the National Study Conference held at Delaware, Ohio, in March, 1942. The statements quoted from "A Message from the National Study Conference" are not to be taken as final or binding in any sense. They are offered as a basis for study and discussion. Everyone is at liberty to agree or to disagree with them. Let it be remembered, however, that they represent conclusions reached by a representative body of religious leaders in this country. Further, let no one forget that every Christian has a responsibility to reach some decision on the important issues here involved, and—in accordance with his enlightened conscience—to act when an opportunity presents itself.

A Statement of Guiding Principles by Church Leaders in America

"In the Fall of 1941 the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace (instituted by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America) formulated a tentative draft of a Statement of Guiding Principles. This draft was then revised and submitted to the entire membership of the Commission for final action. After adoption by the Commission the Statement, with some slight changes, was approved by the Federal Council of Churches in December, 1942. The final form is here given.

Read carefully the Preamble, each of the principles, and the action by which general endorsement was given. In your discussion of the principles, try to find their meaning and, insofar as possible, consider them in relation to the causes for war presented in Chapter III. In conclusion, give attention to these matters:

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1. Why must the church or church leaders first set forth general principles upon which more specific proposals can be built?
2. Why is it desirable to include principles that may be acceptable to men of good will who are not affiliated with the Christian Church? (Principles 1 to 9.)
3. Why ought Christians of this country express themselves about the principle which sets forth the responsibility of the United States for world peace? (Principle 10.)
4. Why is it essential that principles be drawn up to govern the distinctive part to be played by the Christian Church in the United States? (Principles 11 and 12.)
5. To what uses may this Statement of Guiding Principles be put? (See the action of "general endorsement.")

Preamble

As members of the Christian Church, we seek to view all problems of world order in the light of the truth concerning God, man and God's purpose for the world made known in Jesus Christ. We believe that the eternal God revealed in Christ is the Ruler of men and of nations and that His purpose in history will be realized. For us He is the source of moral law and the power to make it effective.

From this faith Christians derive the ethical principles upon which world order must be based. These principles, however, seem to us to be among those which men of goodwill everywhere may be expected to recognize as part of the moral law. In this we rejoice. For peace will require the cooperation of men of all nations, races and creeds. We have therefore first set out (Points 1 to 9) those guiding principles which, it seems to us, Christians and non-Christians alike can accept.

We believe that a special responsibility rests upon the

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people of the United States. We accordingly (Point 10) express our thoughts in that regard.

Above all, we are impressed by the supreme responsibility which rests upon Christians. Moral law may point the way to peace, but Christ, we believe, showed that way with greatest clarity. We therefore, in conclusion (Points 11 and 12) address ourselves to Christians.

Guiding Principles

1.

WE BELIEVE that moral law, no less than physical law, undergirds our world. There is a moral order which is fundamental and eternal, and which is relevant to the corporate life of men and the ordering of human society. If mankind is to escape chaos and recurrent war, social and political institutions must be brought into conformity with this moral order.

2.

WE BELIEVE that the sickness and suffering which afflict our present society are proof of indifference to, as well as direct violation of, the moral law. All share in responsibility for the present evils. There is none who does not need forgiveness. A mood of genuine penitence is therefore demanded of us—individuals and nations alike.

3.

WE BELIEVE that it is contrary to the moral order that nations in their dealings with one another should be motivated by a spirit of revenge and retaliation. Such attitudes will lead, as they always have led, to renewed conflict.

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4.

WE BELIEVE that the principle of co-operation and mutual concern, implicit in the moral order and essential to a just and durable peace, calls for a true community of nations. The interdependent life of nations must be ordered by agencies having the duty and the power to promote and safeguard the general welfare of all peoples. Only thus can wrongs be righted and justice and security be achieved. A world of irresponsible, competing and unrestrained national sovereignties whether acting alone or in alliance or in coalition, is a world of international anarchy. It must make place for a higher and more inclusive authority.

5.

WE BELIEVE that economic security is no less essential than political security to a just and durable peace. Such security nationally and internationally involves among other things the use of material resources and the tools of production to raise the general standard of living. Nations are not economically self-sufficient, and the natural wealth of the world is not evenly distributed. Accordingly the possession of such natural resources should not be looked upon as an opportunity to promote national advantage or to enhance the prosperity of some at the expense of others. Rather such possession is a trust to be discharged in the general interest. This calls for more than an offer to sell to all on equal terms. Such an offer may be a futile gesture unless those in need can, through the selling of their own goods and services, acquire the means of buying. The solution of this problem, doubtless involving some international organization, must be accepted as a

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responsibility by those who possess natural resources needed by others.

6.

WE BELIEVE that international machinery is required to facilitate the easing of such economic and political tensions as are inevitably recurrent in a world which is living and therefore changing. Any attempt to freeze an order of society by inflexible treaty specifications is bound, in the long run, to jeopardize the peace of mankind. Nor must it be forgotten that refusal to assent to needed change may be as immoral as the attempt by violent means to force such change.

7.

WE BELIEVE that that government which derives its just powers from the consent of the governed is the truest expression of the rights and dignity of man. This requires that we seek autonomy for all subject and colonial peoples. Until that shall be realized, the task of colonial government is no longer one of exclusive national concern. It must be recognized as a common responsibility of mankind, to be carried out in the interests of the colonial peoples by the most appropriate form of organization. This would, in many cases, make colonial government a task of international collaboration for the benefit of colonial peoples who would, themselves, have a voice in their government. As the agencies for the promotion of world-wide political and economic security become effective, the moral, social and material welfare of colonial populations can be more fully realized.

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8.

WE BELIEVE that military establishments should be internationally controlled and be made subject to law under the community of nations. For one or more nations to be forcibly deprived of their arms while other nations retain the right of maintaining or expanding their military establishments can only produce an uneasy peace for a limited period. Any initial arrangement which falls short of this must therefore be looked upon as temporary and provisional.

9.

WE BELIEVE that the right of all men to pursue work of their own choosing and to enjoy security from want and oppression is not limited by race, color or creed. The rights and liberties of racial and religious minorities in all lands should be recognized and safeguarded. Freedom of religious worship, of speech and assembly, of the press, and of scientific inquiry and teaching are fundamental to human development and in keeping with the moral order.

10.

WE BELIEVE that, in bringing international relations into conformity with the moral law, a very heavy responsibility devolves upon the United States. For at least a generation we have held preponderant economic power in the world, and with it the capacity to influence decisively the shaping of world events. It should be a matter of shame and humiliation to us that actually the influences shaping the world have largely been irresponsible forces. Our own positive influence has been impaired because of concentration on self and on our short-range material gains. Many of the major preconditions

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of a just and durable peace require changes of national policy on the part of the United States. Among such may be mentioned: equal access to natural resources, economic collaboration, equitable treatment of racial minorities, international control of tariffs, limitation of armaments, participation in world government. We must be ready to subordinate immediate and particular national interests to the welfare of all. If the future is to be other than a repetition of the past, the United States must accept the responsibility for constructive action commensurate with its power and opportunity.

11.

WE BELIEVE that, as Christian citizens, we must seek to translate our beliefs into practical realities and to create a public opinion which will insure that the United States shall play its full and essential part in the creation of a moral way of international living. We must strive within the life of our own nation for change which will result in the more adequate application here of the principles above enumerated as the basis for a just and durable order.

12.

WE BELIEVE that a supreme responsibility rests with the Church. The Church, being a creation of God in Jesus Christ, is called to proclaim to all men everywhere the way of life. Moreover, the Church which is now in reality a world community, may be used of God to develop His spirit of righteousness and love in every race and nation and thus to make possible a just and durable peace. For this service Christians must now dedicate themselves, seeking forgiveness for their sins and the

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constant guidance and help of God, upheld by faith that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of Christ and that He shall reign forever and ever.

Action of "General Endorsement" by Delaware Conference

"This Conference, as a representative group of Christian Churches, gives its general endorsement to the Statement of Guiding Principles prepared by the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. It accepts the first nine Principles as a formulation of fundamentals of Christian Ethics, and it believes that acceptance of these fundamentals by all peoples and governments is essential to the eventual establishment of a just and durable peace. It recognizes the special responsibilities of the United States as formulated in Principle 10. It emphasizes the unique responsibilities and opportunities of the Christian Church in the present crisis.

"The Conference recommends that this Statement of Principles be used as effectively as possible by the Commission and the Federal Council of Churches—

- a. "To crystallize public opinion on these basic issues. (The preparation and very wide distribution of a brief summary of these Principles, so simple as to be within the grasp of every American citizen, would greatly promote such crystallization of public opinion.)
- b. "To call the attention of specialists in the political, economic and social areas, in their formulation of more concrete proposals, to the pre-eminent importance of these central spiritual and Christian insights.
- c. "To provide our government and other governments with a formulation of the spiritual bases for eventual armistice and peace proposals, and

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d. "To provide Christians with criteria for appraising specific armistice and peace terms when these come to be formulated."

Statements of Principles by National Leaders

As a matter of information and as a basis for comparison with the views of religious leaders, three utterances by government officials are included.

1. *War and Peace Aims*

The following quotation is from an address by President Roosevelt on the State of the Union. It is given because of its reference to the four freedoms (the italics are my own) and to the postwar situation.

"Our own objectives are clear; the objective of smashing the militarism imposed by war lords upon their enslaved peoples; the objective of liberating the subjugated nations; the objective of establishing and securing *freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear* everywhere in the world.

"We shall not stop short of these objectives. Nor shall we be satisfied merely to gain them and then call it a day. I know that I speak for the American people and I have good reason to believe that I speak also for all the other peoples that fight with us when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war but also to maintain the security of the peace that will follow."

2. *The Atlantic Charter*

"The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, have met at sea.

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"The President and the Prime Minister have had several conferences. They have considered the dangers to world civilization arising from the policies of military domination by conquest upon which the Hitlerite government of Germany and other governments associated therewith have embarked, and have made clear the steps which their countries are respectively taking for their safety in the face of these dangers.

"They have agreed on the following Declaration."

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First,

Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second,

They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third,

They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth,

They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment of all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to

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the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth,

They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security;

Sixth,

After the final destruction of Nazi Tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh,

Such peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth,

They believe that all the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Dated August 14, 1941

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

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3. A Prayer by the President of the United States

Mr. Roosevelt closed his address on Flag Day (United Nations Day), June 14, 1942, with a prayer that had been written for that occasion. Excerpts are quoted from this prayer.

"Our earth is but a small star in the great universe. Yet of it we can make, if we choose, a planet unvexed by war, untroubled by hunger or fear, undivided by senseless distinctions of race, color or theory. Grant us that courage and foreseeing to begin this task today that our children and our children's children may be proud of the name of man.

"Yet most of all grant us brotherhood, not only for this day, but for all our years—a brotherhood not of words, but of act and deeds. We are all of us children of earth—grant us that simple knowledge. If our brothers are oppressed, then we are oppressed. If they hunger, we hunger. If their freedom is taken away, our freedom is not secure.

"Grant us a common faith that man shall know bread and peace—that he shall know justice and righteousness, freedom and security, an equal opportunity and an equal chance to do his best, not only in our own lands, but throughout the world. And in that faith let us march, toward the clean world our hands can make. Amen."

A Statement of Principles by Church Leaders in Europe

An open letter signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Hinsley, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council (the Rev. W. H. Armstrong), and the Archbishop of York, appeared in *The London Times* on December 21, 1940.

"The present evils in the world are due to the failure of nations and peoples to carry out the laws of God. No perma-

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nent peace is possible in Europe unless the principles of the Christian religion are made the foundation of national policy and of all social life. This involves regarding all nations as members of one family under the Fatherhood of God.

"We accept the five points of Pope Pius XII as carrying out this principle:

I. " 'A fundamental postulate of any just and honourable peace is an assurance for all nations great or small, powerful or weak, of their right to life and independence. . . .

II. " 'The order thus established, if it is to continue undisturbed and ensure true peace, requires that the nations be delivered from the slavery imposed upon them by the race for armaments, and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect the right, may become an overbearing and tyrannical master. . . .

III. " 'The maxims of human wisdom require that in any reorganization of international life all parties should learn a lesson from the failures and deficiencies of the past. . . .

IV. " 'If a better European settlement is to be reached there is one point in particular which should receive special attention: it is the real needs and the just demands of nations and populations, and of racial minorities. . . .

V. " 'But even the best and most detailed regulations will be imperfect and foredoomed to failure unless the peoples and those who govern them submit willingly to the influence of that spirit which alone can give life, authority and binding force to the dead letter of international agreements. They must develop that sense of deep and keen responsibility which measures and weighs human statutes according to the sacred and inviolable standards of the law of God; they must cultivate that hunger and thirst after justice which is proclaimed as a beatitude in the Sermon on the Mount and which supposes as

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its natural foundation the moral virtue of justice. They must be guided by that universal love which is the compendium and most general expression of the Christian ideal, and which therefore may serve as a common ground also for those who have not the blessing of sharing the same faith with us.'

"With these basic principles for the order of international life we would associate five standards by which economic situations and proposals may be tested.

1. "Extreme inequality in wealth and possessions should be abolished.
2. "Every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities of education, suitable for the development of his peculiar capabilities.
3. "The family as a social unit must be safeguarded.
4. "The sense of a Divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work.
5. "The resources of the earth should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race, and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.

"We are confident that the principles which we have enumerated would be accepted by rulers and statesmen throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations and would be regarded as the true basis on which a lasting peace could be established."

CHAPTER VIII

Economic Aspects of Peace

"Our concern with world economics is an obvious consequence of our desire, as Christians, to realize an ever richer spiritual world fellowship. While the strengthening of the spiritual bond may help to prepare for a solution of the economic problems of the world, the spiritual union may itself be gravely impaired or disrupted by conflict arising in the economic realm. We are deeply disturbed by the economic distress of millions of our fellow men and by economic conditions that threaten the extension of the kingdom of God on earth."

With this statement the findings of the Delaware Conference on the economic bases of a just and durable peace were introduced. In approaching problems here involved, an effort to set forth merely general principles still continues. However, it is inevitable that any consideration of economic, social, and political aspects of peace should call forth more specific and detailed formulations. The more concrete a proposal becomes, the greater is the possibility of a difference of opinion about it. Two limitations were previously set up as a safeguard for the church in its participation in postwar settlements. (See Chapter V, p. 36.) They are here repeated, in brief form, and must be kept in mind throughout the discussion.

1. The church must set forth only those principles and proposals for group relationship which, in the mind of its leaders,

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will give expression to the truth of the Gospel under any circumstances.

2. In that the church is concerned with the proclamation of fundamental truth, it must be careful about the support it offers any specific proposal. It cannot be the devotee of any one of the varied plans for postwar settlements now being advanced; nor can it be the proponent of any one political party, form of government, or system of economics.

The material in this and the following two chapters which is quoted from the Delaware findings is not intended necessarily to represent the position of the church. It is offered to inform individual Christians about currently held views, to stimulate their own thought, and to encourage them to make decisions for themselves. It is not the duty of the church to prescribe details. Where recommendations involve technical applications, they call for study and development by specialists.

General Economic Needs

The turmoil of our present day seems to indicate that there is something wrong with the economic system or with the people who operate it. Upon analyzing the situation, the Delaware Conference set forth three needs. Consider the statements and discuss the questions suggested in connection with them.

1. A Christian Motive

In looking at the present economic situation in some quarters of the world, the predominant motive seems to be that of *monetary gain*.

Is it true that people are prompted to work primarily by the desire for monetary gain? Think of people whom you know. Think of business corporations. Think of nations.

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"We view the economic tensions and distresses of our day as symptoms of a general world disorder. In our era production has been carried on primarily with a view to monetary gains. Profit has been the principal incentive relied upon to turn the wheels of industry and to bring forth the fruits of the soil.

"This system has in recent years developed grave defects. There have occurred mass unemployment, widespread dispossession from homes and farms, destitution, lack of opportunity for youth and of security for old age. These calamities, which have often been accentuated by short range self-seeking trade policies of various nations, have made for war. There has been a sharp increase in economic nationalism with tariffs being raised, monetary systems adjusted for the benefit of national interests, and a race for colonies on the part of some countries. Out of this economic insecurity has come an atmosphere favorable to the rise of demagogues and dictators. Mass unrest has afforded violent and unscrupulous men the opportunity to seize leadership and has made any rational approach to international disputes impossible."

A glance at other parts of the world reveals the motive of *compulsion*. In how far is compulsion or force a satisfactory motive?

"In this chaotic situation there has arisen in certain countries an alternative way of production which is based on complete management and control of all economic life by government. With this has come a system of compulsion which deprives the individual of freedoms, economic, intellectual and spiritual, necessary to human dignity."

. Are we limited to a choice between *money* and *compulsion* as motives for production? What do you consider a Christian

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motive for production and work? Is freedom of initiative and enterprise desirable? Consider the difference between equality of opportunity and equality of possessions.

"We do not believe that we are limited to a choice between these two alternatives. If this seems the only choice it is largely because the churches have failed generally to inculcate Christian motivation. Willingness to strive and to produce and to render services should not be dependent either wholly upon profit motivation or wholly upon compulsion. We urge upon the churches that they have the great opportunity and responsibility to make possible a generally acceptable solution by bringing people to a different and more Christian motivation.

"In a day when revolutionary upheavals have swept away the traditional economic organization in Russia, Italy, and Germany, and now when, by reason of the necessities of war, that economic order is being radically reorganized everywhere, the church has a manifest duty in the economic field, both urban and rural. That duty is not to line up on the side of any economic system and certainly not to prescribe details or advocate panaceas. Its responsibility lies in a deeper moral realm. As Christians we must be vitally concerned for the preservation of human values in any and every system. The Christian doctrine of man as a child of God carries with it the demand that all men, without distinction of race, creed, or class, shall be afforded the economic means of life and growth. . . ."

2. *Justice and Freedom*

Discuss three types of ownership and control—*private, co-operative, and public*. Is there place for all three? In how far does the Christian motive play a part?

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"The building of a just and peaceful world involves the building of national and local communities on the basis of justice, freedom and co-operation for the common good.

"We believe that a new ordering of economic life is both imminent and imperative, and that it will come either through voluntary co-operation within the framework of democracy or through explosive political revolution. We recognize the need of experimentation with various forms of ownership and control, private, co-operative and public. It is hardly to be supposed that any one system, whether of private, co-operative, or public enterprise is suited to all kinds of production, distribution and service. The production and distribution of goods on the basis of voluntary co-operation is an experiment which in many parts of the world is meeting with notable success."

3. International Co-operation

Will the effort to approach economic problems internationally make necessary sacrifices by citizens of wealthier nations? View this from the standpoint of an "ecumenical Christian stewardship."

"We believe that no nation nor group of nations can solve in a permanent way the economic problems interior to itself without the co-operation in good will of the other peoples of the world. The economic prosperity of one nation bears a direct and not inverse ratio to that of others. It is necessary to abandon injurious forms of economic competition and to avoid entrance upon the disastrous chain of economic counter measures and reprisals which often mark the policy of competing nations. We endorse the principle that 'national inter-dependence now replaces independence and that action by

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any nation, notably in the economic field, which materially and adversely affects other people, is not purely a matter of domestic policy but is coupled with an international responsibility.'"¹

The Responsibility of the Christian Citizen

Every Christian citizen has a responsibility to give serious thought to these matters. Too often our Christianity is divorced from the realities of life. Naturally, we must be careful not to accept every new economic doctrine that comes our way. On the other hand, we must not close our eyes to the needs by which we are confronted. Nor dare we ignore, without sympathetic thought, proposals for constructive change.

¹ Following the discussion of general economic needs, the Delaware Conference acted upon specific economic recommendations. These may be found in the Message of the Conference, pages 22 to 24.

CHAPTER IX

Social Aspects of Peace

The Delaware Conference reported its findings concerning the social bases of a just and durable peace. In your study of the statements here included, try to reach some conclusion about the following problems:

1. In how far are all men children of God? Is any one group inherently superior or inferior to another? What freedoms are desirable?
2. What are some of the needs for relief and rehabilitation during the war? After the war? What responsibilities rest upon the Christian?
3. How does the Christian's concern about the welfare of mankind as a whole—in contrast with his concern about the welfare of the nation—argue for some kind of international organization?
4. What should be the Christian's attitude toward people of other races? In this country? In other parts of the world? What effect does our local attitude toward people of other races have upon our contribution to peace among the nations of the world? Consider the problems of immigration and minority groups.

"We are convinced that the present struggle of the nations is not just another war in the history of mankind. It is the

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upheaval of the old order and the birth of a new. The relationships of men will never again be the same, nor should they be the same, for they have not been founded on the eternal truths of God.

"Therefore we affirm that whatever peace settlements are presented to the peoples of the world should express the following principles:

1. "Man is a child of God and all men are brothers one of another. The church in its long-established missionary work recognizes its responsibility to bring all men into full relationship as children of God.
2. "Mankind is one in nature and in the sight of God. No group of men is inherently superior or inferior to any other, and none is above any other beloved of God.
3. "The whole earth is given by God and to all men for their common dwelling place, and the resources of the earth should be used as His gifts to the whole human family.
4. "All men should be free to move over the surface of the earth under international agreement, in search of the fullest opportunity for personal development.
5. "Freedom of religious worship, of speech and assembly, of conscience, of the press, of the arts, and of scientific inquiry and teaching should be available to all men everywhere."

Relief and Rehabilitation

"The present mass suffering of the world requires action on the part of the Church in America far beyond anything yet undertaken. Six million young men in the prison camps of the world; scores of millions of refugees—homeless, helpless, starving; whole regions subjected to slow starvation as a result

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of the policies of states—these and kindred areas of desperate suffering inflicted upon masses of innocent victims challenge the Church to a demonstration of its basic doctrines of human solidarity and brotherhood in a potential family of God. They provide potent opportunities for creating even now, in the midst of war, responses of goodwill and solid grounds for enduring fellowship."

Toward a World Community

"The nations of the world are passing through the crucible of fire and sword. National cultures which have enriched and given meaning to millions of people are in danger of extinction. No nation can escape this crisis. Those nations which, amid the purifying days of suffering, rediscover or preserve their souls from disintegration under the heel of the invader, from the despair of defeat, or from the pride and boastfulness of victory, will be ready to reconstruct their own national life and that of the world upon the ruins of today.

"The sovereign power of the nation-state is being modified by economic, political, and military forces which demand a new social order. It will be impossible to return to such extreme practices of national sovereignty as have prevailed during recent decades. We believe that the State is a form of political organization which can and should be modified to meet the needs of the peoples of the world in the emerging situation. At the same time, however, we believe that different peoples have their distinctive places in the divine economy and that any world order must look toward unity in diversity and not to general internationalism and cosmopolitanism. If we would avoid a superficial solution to the world's needs, we must come to recognize the distinction between those cultural values that center around the people, or folk,

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on the one hand, and the political state and government on the other.

"We, the members of the American churches, and a part of the world-wide Christian community believe that the Christian churches in those countries where they are an inherent part of its nation's life, have a task to perform not only in helping to preserve and restore the national spiritual unity of their people but also in relating their people to the larger family of nations.

"We believe that no matter what world scheme for political and economic organization may be devised to meet the demands of the modern world, at the heart of such a plan there must be developed an 'international ethos' which not only springs from the loyalties of the people in their own nation, but includes their relationship to the welfare of mankind as a whole.

"We believe that the Christian Church, because of its universal gospel, its positive world-view and its deep concern for both the individual and the nation stands on the threshold of its greatest opportunity to bear witness to the reality of the world Christian community and to manifest in sacrificial living a spirit through which a suffering, broken humanity can be transformed into a world community."

Race Relations and Cultures

"Among the primary factors in the maintenance of a just and durable peace will be equitable treatment of all racial groups that make up the world's population. Therefore the securing of justice now for racial groups is essential if America is to make its full contribution in securing a just and durable peace.

"We acknowledge with profound contrition the sin of racial

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discrimination in American life and our own share, though we are Christians, in the common guilt. So long as our attitudes and policies deny peoples of other races in our own or other lands the essential position of brothers in the common family of mankind we cannot safely be trusted with the making of a just and durable peace.

"In our own country millions of people, especially American Negroes, are subjected to discrimination and unequal treatment in educational opportunities, in employment, wages and conditions of work, in access to professional and business opportunities, in housing, in transportation, in the administration of justice and even in the right to vote. We condemn all such inequalities and call upon our fellow Christians and fellow citizens to initiate and support measures to establish equality of status and treatment of members of minority racial and cultural groups."¹

¹ Following the discussion of general social principles, the Conference endorsed a group of practical procedures. These are set forth in the Message of the Conference, pages 27 to 30.

CHAPTER X

Political Aspects of Peace

Because of his faith in Jesus Christ, the Christian is a citizen of the community known as the Christian Church. By birth, force of circumstances, or personal choice, he is also the citizen of a state or nation. A true expression of his allegiance to the church must result in his being a better citizen of the state.

In turning our attention to political aspects of a just and durable peace, we are not moving beyond the sphere of the Christian's responsibility. The Christian, as a member of the church, owes an obligation to his local congregation; he must also enter into the work of the church throughout the world. Similarly, the Christian citizen whose loyalty is directed to a particular nation cannot, in a concern for other peoples and other lands, avoid the implications of his citizenship.

Our present form of government is based on the principle of national sovereignty. In the main, each nation establishes its own laws and customs, and administers its own affairs. Where the interests of more than one nation are involved, they are usually governed by temporary treaties subject to the changing will of the contracting parties. In some few cases, the needs in recurring international situations have given rise to international law. These cases are, however, in the minority and there is at hand no international power for enforcement. By and large, we are still creatures of nationalism. The fre-

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quently rising conflicts among nations have forced many people to the conclusion that our total development has been disjointed; namely, that the development in human relations has proceeded more rapidly than the development in political controls. This view is expressed in a statement by John Foster Dulles, the Chairman of the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace.¹

"It is surprising that mankind has for so long found tolerable this crude conception that sovereignty is absolute and unqualified, save by force. This toleration has been due to a number of ephemeral circumstances.

"In the first place, war, the evolutionary medium, was largely a specialized and professional occupation which did not vitally affect the civilian community or seriously interrupt its progressive attainment of higher living standards.

"In the second place, the parceling out process had not been completed. The sovereignty system operated primarily from Europe and at a time when the four continents of North America, South America, Africa and Australasia were vast open spaces, affording a natural outlet for those dynamic elements which felt repressed within their home preserve.

"In the third place, means of communication had not then been developed to their present degree and distance in itself created a serious obstacle to availing of opportunities elsewhere. Thus the right of exclusive use which was accorded to a national group involved little more than the natural consequences of geography.

"Today these factors have all been changed. War has become so totalitarian and destructive that it is no longer toler-

¹ "The United States and the World of Nations," by John Foster Dulles. (An address before the National Study Conference at Philadelphia, 1940.) Pages 2, 3.

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able. The colonial areas have been preempted. Space distances have largely lost their meaning, as the world has been shrunk by the inventions of science. As the natural barriers to intercourse have thus been overcome, the nations have more and more replaced them by artificial, man-made, restraints which are obtrusive and provocative. In addition to all of this, there has been a steady increase in population and population pressures."

The world's population has grown from about eight hundred millions in 1800 to somewhat over two billions in 1940. In Europe alone, the 1800 population of about one hundred seventy-five millions has increased to about five hundred fifty millions in 1940. Here in the United States, our population has increased from about five millions in 1800 to one hundred thirty millions at the present time.

A few leaders recognized the growing weakness of the system of national sovereignties at the close of the last war. The effort to establish the League of Nations stands as evidence of this recognition. The Covenant of the League was an attempt to secure a permanent means of settling ever-changing problems in international life. The failure of the United States to have organic part in the work of the League robbed it of the support of one of the bulwarks of democracy. The failure to provide any instruments for the adequate enforcement of its decisions relegated the League to the position of an advisory council. Men are now seeking to find a form of international government which will enable world politics to catch up with the developments in world science and industry. From the standpoint of the church, let it always be remembered that the character of those administering a form of government is more important than the form itself. Christian citizens there-

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fore have the task of contributing to the formation of an adequate system of political control and of bringing men of sound character into positions of authority.

Numerous questions concerning ways and means of achieving desired ends demand attention. A brief description of specific proposals now being circulated appears in the next chapter. The wide variety of concrete plans indicates that there is more than one answer to each of these questions. As an aid to discussion, the Delaware findings on the political bases of a just and durable peace are incorporated. Consider these questions.

1. What responsibility has the United States in the matter of international order?
2. What particular matters demand attention in the transitional period between the end of the war and the conclusion of a peace treaty? In how far ought the emergency measures to set the stage for the final provisions?
3. In what areas of life can international authority be exercised?
4. What powers now exercised by national governments ought to be delegated to international government?
5. Our national government has legislative, judicial, and executive functions. Can this system be applied to international government? Ought all the provisions to be endorsed at the outset or ought there to be a progressive growth from the simplest to the more complex stages?
6. What shall be the final dispositions of colonial territories? If the immediate freedom of any colony is inadvisable, ought its government to be administered by a national or an international authority?
7. Must the churches be united in order to advocate a union of nations?

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Political Bases

"The churches of America face clear responsibilities in seeking to establish a better world when the war has ended. First among postwar duties will be the achievement of a just peace settlement with due regard to the welfare of all nations, the vanquished, the overrun, and the victors alike.

"In order that such a settlement may tend toward a better political order, we, as citizens of the United States of America, advocate the following principles and measures:

1. "That the United States pursue a responsible national policy with concern for the welfare of all peoples and that the United States co-operate fully with all nations and peoples in working towards a world order of justice and peace.

2. "That during a transitional period after the fighting has ended, the efforts of the peoples of the world be devoted, in proportion to their ability, to the re-establishment of order, the provision of food, shelter and medical service, and the restoration of stable government and economic activity, especially in the devastated territories. These emergency measures must include policing by joint action for the protection of minorities and disarmed populations, and positive measures of economic and cultural co-operation. They should be carried out under international authorities, representative of all peoples concerned. There should be no punitive reparations, no humiliating decrees of war guilt, and no arbitrary dismemberment of nations. All of these emergency measures should tend toward a growing structure of international order.

3. "That among the functions of government that must be performed are the preservation of public order, the maintenance of economic opportunity, the safeguarding of public health and welfare, and the direction of population movements. In large part, these functions must be performed by

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local and national governments, but in part they can now be effectively carried out only by international authority.

4. "That certain powers now exercised by national governments must, therefore, be delegated to international government, organized and acting in accordance with a world system of law. Among the powers so delegated must be the power of final judgment in controversies between nations, the maintenance and use of armed forces except for preservation of domestic order, and the regulation of international trade and population movements among nations.

5. "That international authorities competent to perform these functions may be of two sorts. (1) The ultimate requirement is a duly constituted world government of delegated powers: an international legislative body, an international court with adequate jurisdiction, international administrative bodies with necessary powers, and adequate international police forces and provision for worldwide economic sanctions. (2) As steps toward, and potential organs of, such world government, there is need for many sorts of international bodies charged with specific duties, such as the International Labor Organization, and various agencies such as those now acting for the United Nations to co-ordinate natural resources, shipping, and food distribution. Such bodies must be adapted to the service of world order and government, and must not become a substitute therefor. In the operation of these agencies, and in progressing toward full world government, every effort should be made to achieve agreement and voluntary co-operation of all concerned.

6. "That, utilizing experience with the mandate principle, a system of administration of colonial territories under international authority be developed. In areas now under colonial administration, advance toward self-government should be car-

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ried forward in substantial progress. The affairs of peoples deemed not yet capable of self-government should be administered as a common trust, by international authority, in the interest of these peoples as members of a world society.

7. "That the influence of the churches shall be employed to keep the foregoing principles before the attention of diplomats and statesmen."

The Unity of the Christian Church

The contention has been made that the Christian Church is in no position to advocate a union among the nations of the world until it has effected a union of its own separate denominations. While there is some truth in this statement, the situations with respect to the nations and the churches are far from identical. Christians have moved beyond the point where they wage physical war because of differences of opinions. They have not attained complete agreement on many vital points in Christian doctrine and work. Nevertheless, there is a growing tendency to emphasize common convictions and to co-operate in commonly endorsed enterprises. This tendency is beyond question commendable and ought to be promoted by every sincere Christian. While considering means to bring the nations of the world closer together, it will be well to continue to move towards the goal of sympathy and understanding among the world family of Christians.

CHAPTER XI

Plans and Proposals

Two facts of international significance have become increasingly clear to an ever larger number of people. First, the different nations of the world cannot live in complete independence of each other. Second, there has not as yet been found an effective means of ordering their unavoidable relationships. Recognition of these two facts has stimulated the formulation of many proposals for world government. A brief discussion of some of the more outstanding types is here attempted. While the information given concerning each is necessarily scant, it may be sufficient to provide a basis for limited discussion and to encourage further investigation. The following questions will be of assistance in appraising any plan under consideration.

1. What are the distinctive features of the plan?
2. Is it satisfactory from a Christian standpoint? (The Statement of Guiding Principles in Chapter VII may be of assistance in answering this question.)
3. Is it practical? That is, does it hold promise of working? Must it be introduced in complete form from the very start? Can it be introduced gradually?

A League of Nations "with Power"

Since experience with the League of Nations has shown possibilities as well as weaknesses, it is natural that some of

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the proposals should seek to expand the functions of the League to a point of real effectiveness. This tendency has been evident particularly among those who advocate a progressive rather than a sudden establishment of complete international control. While the suggestions along this line could conceivably be inaugurated independently, they are related to the League of Nations in order to utilize an already existing instrument. However, their characteristics distinguish them quite sharply from the former League. The proposal by John Foster Dulles is cited as an illustration worthy of careful study.¹

" . . . There exists no political authority to bring into this field the order which is the only alternative to periodic violence and destruction. To remedy this situation is of transcendent importance.

"As a means of doing so I would propose international—or rather supranational—government of a functional character, designed to bring order progressively into one after the other of those particular strata of activity which have already become *de facto* international in their character.

"I will go on to elaborate this conception, claiming, however, the privileges and immunities which are the due of specifications made primarily to illustrate a basic conception.

"The solution we envisage would doubtless require the three classic branches of government—the legislative, the executive and the judicial. First there should be an association of nations acting as the legislative and appointing body. Through this association the nations would from time to time determine what should be the subjects of supranational ordering, what powers should be conferred to that end and who should exercise them. The present League of Nations, through the Assem-

¹ *Toward World Order*, by John Foster Dulles, p. 18 to 20.

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bly and Council, might well serve as this legislative and appointing agency, although the Covenant would require amendment to afford greater practicability of action.

"There would, secondly, be an executive and administrative organ to discharge the functional tasks and exercise the powers which the League might from time to time confer upon it. The members of the Executive Organ, chosen by the League, would have a fixed tenure of office. They would, by oath of office, undertake to seek to promote the general welfare as distinct from the welfare of their own particular nation. The powers conferred upon the Executive Organ would be only such as it could itself exercise. The nature of such powers we will hereafter indicate. But we emphasize here the principle that it is better to accept limited jurisdiction, coupled with real power, than to have a broad jurisdiction within which action depends upon a large number of sovereign states being willing hereafter to concur. That vice of a 'league' system we must seek to avoid. The Executive Organ would be empowered to negotiate with national governments and make with them treaties and compacts designed to facilitate the discharge of its functional tasks. The Executive Organ would also be empowered to create corporate instrumentalities of its own to act within its functional field. These would be exclusively subject to its control and immune from control, regulation and taxation by the nations in much the same way that, under our federal system, companies engaged in interstate business are immune from the regulations and taxation of their interstate activities by the states.

"The third agency I visualize would be a judicial one, perhaps the present 'world court,' which would have jurisdiction and final authority to determine disputes between the nations on the one hand, and the Executive Organ or its instrumental-

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ities on the other hand, relating to their relative powers and immunities and the interpretation of treaties and compacts between the Executive Organ and the nations.

"The Executive Organ, above described, would take over and carry on the functional tasks of the present League such as the International Labor Organization and International Health Division."

Mr. Dulles then proceeds to illustrate particular assignments whereby the whole matter of trade relations would be brought into the field of international discussion and decision. The plan involves an organization dedicated to the general welfare —the peace and order of mankind—and the assuming of an allegiance to this goal superior to that of any national allegiance.

Regional Pacts

Throughout the history of mankind, political developments have taken place largely along regional lines; that is, groups of people who lived near each other united to form a government which would be more powerful than that of any separate group. Various solutions of this kind have recently been proposed to relieve tension among the separate nations which are located in a given geographical area. Since Europe has been a consistent hotbed for international disorder, the proposal has found most frequent application there. It has passed under different titles: European Federal Union, Pan-Europa, United States of Europe. While there are differences in details, the plans follow the same general lines. The steps suggested for the introduction of the Pan-Europa Plan are cited as an illustration:

1. Preliminary conferences to appoint committees on arbitration, disarmament, minorities, currency, and the like.

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2. The conclusion of compulsory arbitration treaties and security pacts.
3. The promotion of a Pan-European Customs Union.
4. The adoption of a constitution of the United States of Europe, with a House of Representatives on a population basis, and a House of States with one member from each state. The plan further advocated the organization of the world into five units: Pan-American, Pan-European, British, Russian, and Mongolian.

Federation of Nations

The Campaign for World Government has been carried on under the leadership of Lola Maverick Lloyd and Rosika Schwimmer. The objective sought is an all-inclusive, non-military, democratic Federation of Nations. The administration is to be cared for by a World Parliament to which the people of each state will elect ten delegates. There is no provision for enforcement of decisions upon the states, and national sovereignty remains unlimited except where interdependence requires Federal regulation. Various planning functions shall be delegated to separate commissions. Among these are relief of unemployment, production and distribution of raw materials, abolition of tariffs, control of transportation and communication, world currency, education, health.

Federal Union (Union Now)

The plan of "Union Now" was devised by Clarence K. Streit, former Geneva Correspondent of the New York Times. It was originally intended to include fifteen founder democracies, that is, those states which guarantee to their citizens the Union's Bill of Rights. Since eight of the democracies orig-

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inally included in the plan have been overrun by enemy powers, Mr. Streit proposes the immediate Federal Union of the remaining seven. The United States shall take the initiative to invite these democracies to sign a Declaration of Interdependence. An Intercontinental Congress will be established and will be given the same powers to make war and peace which the American Continental Congress had. Mr. Streit feels sure that this provisional government would hold the fort for freedom while the seven democracies were agreeing on a permanent constitution. He proposes that they declare their determination to establish among them a permanent Federal Union open to all democracies—notably the eight now imprisoned when they are free—and expressly open to the peoples now under dictatorship when they have satisfactorily freed themselves. A start is thus made with a smaller nucleus. The procedure is on the same basis toward the same great goal.

The legislative provision calls for a House of Deputies on a strictly population basis; and for a Senate with two representatives for every country with a population of twenty-five millions or less and two additional representatives for every additional twenty-five or fifty millions. Provisions are also made for executive and judiciary administration. The Union will have its own forces for carrying out its law and for protecting itself or its members from outside powers. It can raise its troops directly and can tax its citizens directly. It will have authority in the areas of citizenship, defense, customs, money, postal and communicative systems. In fields where the Union is given power, the member states will give up their own sovereignty in favor of the Union, in order that there may be cohesion of planning and effort in these fields. This should promote efficiency.

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World Federation

A political movement advocating a Federation of the World, though specifying no detailed plans, has been gaining momentum in the United States. It is being promoted by Robert L. Humber, a private citizen of North Carolina. Thus far it has resulted in the adoption of a formal resolution by two state legislatures, urging upon the United States Congress a similar resolution in favor of World Federation. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly of North Carolina, March 13, 1941; a resolution with the same import passed the General Assembly of New Jersey on May 1, 1942. The North Carolina action (without the Preamble) is here quoted:¹

"Now therefore, Be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

"Section 1. That the General Assembly of North Carolina does hereby solemnly declare that all peoples of the earth should now be united in a commonwealth of nations to be known as the Federation of the World, and to that end it hereby endorses the Declaration of the Federation of the World as is specifically set forth in the preamble hereof, and makes said Declaration a part of this Resolution in the same manner as if same were recited herein, and requests the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives in Congress from the State of North Carolina to introduce and secure the passage of a Resolution in the Congress of the United States, committing the United States to the acceptance of the principle of the Federation of the World and requesting the President of the United States to call an International Convention to formulate a Constitution for the Federation of the World, which shall be submitted to each nation for its ratification.

¹ *The Declaration of the Federation of the World*, pages 7 and 8.

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"Sec. 2. That when the said International Convention is called, it be urged to select a territory for the seat of government for The Federation of the World, and that the nation in which the said territory is located be requested to withdraw its jurisdiction over this area and cede it to The Federation of the World for its Capital, with all the prerogatives and attributes of sovereignty, in order that there might be built in this area a City symbolic of world unity, adequate for the needs of the nations and worthy of the aspirations and destiny of mankind.

"Sec. 3. That a copy of this Resolution be sent to each of the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives in Congress from the State of North Carolina.

"Sec. 4. That this Resolution shall be in full force and effect from and after its ratification."

A Federation of the United Nations

The United Nations have geared themselves for war. Their leaders have met on numerous occasions to confer about war plans and procedures. They have pooled their resources. They have practically shared their wealth. Many barriers to trade have been removed. In some sections of the world they have united their armed forces under a single leadership. There is a strong feeling on the part of many people that the union which has been established against a common enemy should be continued after the close of the war. In this way, the experiences during the war will have served as a testing ground for a working federation of those nations whose interests, at least for the time, have been commonly held.

Manifestly this idea may be worked out in many different forms. The essential point is that such a Federation would start with a basis of existent arrangement.

PLANS AND PROPOSALS

Keeping Informed

Many other proposals and plans have been advanced. As this chapter is being written, formal representatives of leading powers among the United Nations are assembled to confer on peace plans and provisions for a postwar settlement. No one knows what form the final proposals will take. The general principles set forth in Chapter VII can be of assistance in weighing the satisfactoriness of any conclusions that are reached. The intelligent Christian has a responsibility to keep informed about the proposals and decisions of the leaders who represent him. In a democracy he also has the opportunity to voice his dissent or approval.

CHAPTER XII

The Christian and World Peace

The road which leads to a just and durable peace is long and arduous. There are many bypaths and pitfalls. It may not be lined with cheering multitudes such as would greet the conquering hero on his return from battle, yet at its end is the goal for which practically each recurring war was fought but which none has achieved. The failures of human efforts in the past must spur men and women of conviction to action with greater consecration and diligence. For only as those who see and appreciate the goal move steadily in its direction can the indifferent, the doubting, and the hostile be carried along.

1. What can the Christian citizen do now?
2. What can the Christian citizen be prepared to do in the future?

These questions are exceedingly practical. They bring the issue directly to the individual's conscience. To a certain extent, only general answers are possible, for local conditions determine specific applications. Consequently, after a brief explanation of each opportunity for action, space is left to write down what you and your group plan to do.

Immediate Opportunities

1. *Be diligent in support of the life and work of your church.* In its true nature, Christianity stands at the extreme

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opposite of the greed and selfishness which are the basic cause of human conflict. The church, in pursuing its distinctive life and in performing its accepted work, is a living witness to "the peace of God which passeth all understanding." In times of stress, individual Christians must put forth extra effort in order that the forces of evil may be withheld. Such extra effort may involve increased personal fidelity as an ordinary church member; willingness to assume leadership responsibility in some phase of church work; an attempt to awaken inactive members to real participation; a serious move to bring into the church people who are not affiliated with it. What are you planning to do to strengthen the life of your own church?

2. Organize the congregation and community to promote peace. Some congregations have appointed committees to administer all work that pertains to peace and postwar settlements. In a few instances, committees have been made up of representatives from different congregations and community organizations. The work of such a group may be to promote group study; to serve as a clearinghouse for up-to-date information; to administer a publicity program through local newspapers, radio, and the like; to prepare and give pageants; to hold photographic or poster contests; to arrange world friendship meetings or dinners; to encourage study courses and group discussions in public and private schools; to prepare and conduct Children's Day programs. Is a committee of this

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kind possible in your congregation or community? If so, what shall be its task?

3. *Exemplify peace in interchurch relations.* It is a travesty upon Christianity to allow quarrels and animosities to continue among Christian groups. The church section at the Delaware Conference expressed its opinion in this fashion.

"We call upon our churches, therefore, to enter seriously and immediately upon the task of breaking down the barriers that so easily divide us into opposing groups. We would say to them: If you believe in peace for the world, if you are working for co-operation between nations, governments, races and peoples under the Fatherhood of God, you must set the example for such reconciliation and co-operation. The Christian churches must come to realize as they now do not, that joining the Church of Christ in any of its branches means entering a fellowship world-wide in extent, beyond denomination and race, and should involve responsible participation in the task of making spiritually more real our mystical fellowship in community life and in the world.

"We would also call upon our churches to enter upon a new era of interdenominational co-operation in which the claims of co-operative effort should be placed, so far as possible, before denominational prestige, and that conjoint

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Christian efforts be not weakened or imperiled by our several denominational allegiances."

It is not necessary for all communions to hold exactly the same beliefs or to worship in identically the same way. Nevertheless, they ought to be united by a common bond of sympathy and good will. This demands, first of all, a sympathetic attitude in every Christian in every group. Real co-operation in specific church work and in community enterprises with a common purpose then becomes possible. What opportunities to exemplify peace in interchurch relations does your community offer?

4. *Exemplify peace in relations to racial and minority groups.* If we believe that God would recognize all men as His children, we must show our conviction in life. This is the responsibility of Christian individuals and groups. The racial complexion of communities varies. What is your opportunity in this regard?

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5. *On the basis of continuing study keep in close touch with developments in state, country, and world.* In a very real sense, the peace is now being made. Certainly, the plans and activities of the United Nations—in their conferences with each other and in their dealings with previously occupied countries (AMGOT, for example)—are determining lines which the peace structure will follow. It is futile to wait until policies have been formed. If Christians are to have any influence, they must bring their views to bear upon governmental leaders while policies are in the process of formation. Through what means can you keep informed about significant current happenings? What can you do now to make a Christian influence effective?

6. *Counteract hate and vengeance.* Obviously, if hate and vengeance are permitted to mount during the war, the peace that follows will be prompted by the same motives. While expressions of this kind have been fewer during the second world war, there is a tendency for them to increase as the war is prolonged and as the fighting becomes more severe. What can you do as an individual to offset this tendency? What can you do as a group?

7. *Be prepared to make sacrifices necessary to drawing and maintaining an equitable peace.* Had we been willing over the years to make only a fraction of the sacrifices called for during the war, the chaos of our present day might have been avoided. Unfortunately, sacrifices are more freely made when

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the threat to our well-being is open and obvious. An enlightened civilization must be willing to sacrifice in the interests of peace as well as in the interests of war. What sacrifices may be needed if a changed political, economic, and social order is established? Are Christians ready to make these sacrifices?

8. Promote preparation for a more real world Christianity and for a meeting of the World Council of Churches to be held in connection with any general peace conference. The recommendation has been made that a meeting of the World Council of Churches be called as soon after the declaration of a general armistice as possible, and that a delegation of representative Christians be sent to the place where any general peace conference is held. Should there be an opportunity for public hearings, churchmen will be in a position to express the mind of Christians concerning the kind of settlement that ought to be made. Should there be no opportunity for public hearings, the very presence of this delegation would be a tangible evidence of the church's interest in the equitable disposition of international problems.

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9. *Support orphaned missions.* The ties between the supporting churches of Europe and their missions have been largely broken. Lack of support from home churches, hostile attitudes of local governments, and destruction by invaders have worked untold hardship on many mission congregations and enterprises. The churches of America must continue the support of their own work; they must also help to bear the burden of agencies whose means are temporarily withheld.

10. *Wherever possible, maintain contacts with those who are working in your behalf or in your place.* Here may be included people in many walks of life. Attention is called particularly to men in the armed forces of our country. A letter to them—telling about life at home, your appreciation of their sacrifices, your local work towards a lasting peace—will be much appreciated and can be of considerable help.

11. *Seek continually to interest other people in studying about and working for a just and durable peace.* Only as the great majority of citizens become seriously enough concerned

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about the part which the United States ought to play in the affairs of the world will sufficient impetus to action be provided. Every opportunity for stimulating the interest of people whom you meet in your everyday life must therefore be utilized.

Preparation for Future Opportunities

1. *Be prepared to communicate with government officials at a time when peace settlements are under deliberation.* In our earlier studies, we saw that representatives of governments, not of churches, will be empowered to sit at the peace table. When peace proposals have been agreed upon at a peace conference, they will come back to our United States Congress for acceptance or rejection. Your duly elected representatives will have a vote. Their vote may well be influenced by the expressed conviction of their constituency. Every Christian ought therefore to be prepared to make his position known. This may be possible through signing a petition or through writing a personal letter. By whatever means are available, the Christian citizen ought to register his convictions with those leaders who have the power to act.

2. *If you have friends or relatives in other countries, inform them as soon as possible of the kind of postwar plan under consideration in this country.* A sympathetic bond is necessary not only among the people of the United Nations but also among the people of all lands.

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3. Remain interested, alert, and active between the signing of an armistice and the final peace settlement. At the end of a war, there is an inevitable tendency to sigh and exclaim, "It can't happen again." If this represents the attitude of too many people, the history of past wars and peace settlements will be repeated. A concerted purpose must be expressed until the final goal is reached.

4. In time of peace guard against the recurrence of war. The making and maintaining of peace will be a never-ending process. It is an undertaking not of a day, nor of a year, nor even of a lifetime. It will be the task of all the generations who follow us. Our children and children's children will be better able to meet their responsibility if we have diligently faced ours.

In this connection Christians, as members of the world-wide church, have an unusual opportunity and a proportionate responsibility. Many governmental leaders are saying that the Christian Church is in a position to make a more vital contribution to lasting peace and to world order than any other agency. The ecumenical movement over the last twenty years has drawn Christians of different countries into closer fellowship. Perforce in its earlier stages this movement has involved mainly a somewhat small group of Christian leaders. Given the interest and wholehearted support of Christians in every walk of life, it can go a long way toward building a world community based on mutual understanding and helpfulness.

Think over the conclusions you have reached from the study of this chapter. Add your proposed activities to the list which you have been compiling in your previous study. It will be necessary to organize your plans carefully, so that they may be carried out with greatest effect. What are you as a Christian citizen going to do to promote world peace?

CHAPTER XIII

An International Christian Approach

During the early stages of the war Christian activity in behalf of a just and durable peace moved most intensively within separate nations. National church bodies instituted commissions, convened study conferences, issued statements of Christian principles, contributed to the enlightenment of public opinion, and established contacts with governmental officials. From the outset Christian leaders realized that differences among the plans and activities of church bodies in various countries would have to be resolved, and a co-ordination of effort would have to be effected. For this international approach to the problem of world order the ecumenical movement, extending over some twenty years, built a solid foundation. Because of the relations which had been established in the ecumenical conferences, the work of churches within nations soon began to transcend national lines. Documents were exchanged and individual leaders from different countries conferred with each other.

The first seven months of 1943 were marked by developments which seemed to indicate that the time for more definite international consultation—perhaps collaboration—was at hand. To illustrate this trend towards a co-operative procedure in the work of Christian churches throughout the world, three important items are here briefly set forth: (1) the Six Pillars of Peace; (2) the Church and International Reconstruction (the Geneva document); and (3) the International Round Table of Christian Leaders at Princeton.

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The Six Pillars of Peace

1. In what respects are political propositions different from moral principles?
2. Is there need for the formulation of political propositions? Why?
3. How must these political propositions be understood?
4. With what problems do the Six Pillars of Peace deal?

A statement of political propositions, popularly known as the "Six Pillars of Peace," was issued in March, 1943, under the imprint of the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. It was formulated after a study of pronouncements by church bodies in different countries and after consultation with political, economic, and church leaders in the United States. On the one hand the writers of the document recognized the added weight which their statement would carry if it were issued with an endorsement by Christian leaders in many lands. On the other hand they realized that the situation in this country had reached a critical point and that the force of Christian opinion was urgently needed to fix the direction which the United States should follow within the political area. Faced by these alternatives, they decided to rely upon the sympathetic understanding which had increasingly marked relations among Christians throughout the world, and to risk the appearance of presumption in initiating the statement. The introduction calls attention to the choice of directions by which the people of the United States are confronted and concludes in this fashion:

"And so we present our Statement of Political Propositions and we ask the people of this nation—

"To study, to understand and to accept these Propositions and their implications;

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"To seek that such Propositions shall be adopted by our Congress and Executive as official policy of our Government;

"To seek, through proper channels, the acceptance by other nations of these Propositions, to the end that an immediate start be made to realize them."

The First Pillar of Peace

The peace must provide the political framework for a continuing collaboration of the United Nations and, in due course, of neutral and enemy nations.

The Second Pillar of Peace

The peace must make provision for bringing within the scope of international agreement those economic and financial acts of national governments which have widespread international repercussions.

The Third Pillar of Peace

The peace must make provision for an organization to adapt the treaty structure of the world to changing underlying conditions.

The Fourth Pillar of Peace

The peace must proclaim the goal of autonomy for subject peoples, and it must establish international organization to assure and to supervise the realization of that end.

The Fifth Pillar of Peace

The peace must establish procedures for controlling military establishments everywhere.

The Sixth Pillar of Peace

The peace must establish in principle, and seek to achieve

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in practice, the right of individuals everywhere to religious and intellectual liberty.

In appraising the significance of the Six Pillars of Peace two characteristics ought to be noted. In the first place, they represent a new—at least, a separate—area of thinking by Christian leaders. At the outset effort had been made to derive from the total Gospel those general moral or ethical principles which related to peace and world order. Such guiding principles could be and were proclaimed with a measure of finality. However, to clarify the significance of moral principles for the present world situation, it became necessary to indicate more definitely what they meant in terms of concrete political and economic measures. Here judgments on technical matters and questions of human behavior are involved. Being thus subject to human fallibility, political propositions must be distinguished from primary principles which carry the authority of the Gospel.

In the second place, the Six Pillars represent minimum terms. They do not include everything that is essential to the full achievement of world order. They do not set forth specific plans and programs. Their application needs to be safeguarded at every step. In the manner in which they are phrased, there is much latitude as to detailed content and as to the timing of their realization. Their main purpose, be it understood, is *to force the initial and vital decision on the direction in which this and other nations shall move.* When the direction has thus been fixed, each Christian, *as a citizen*, must decide what particular activities and institutions will make possible a fuller achievement of the final goal.

The Statement of Political Propositions was communicated to Christian leaders in many countries. It was enthusiastically

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received, and in numerous quarters exposed to careful study. In July there was released simultaneously in Great Britain and in the United States a document prepared by the British Council of Churches in which the Six Pillars were discussed at great length. In this document fourteen leaders of the British Council—including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council—gave general endorsement to the Political Propositions. (A similar endorsement by the International Round Table of Christian leaders at Princeton will be noted later in this chapter.) This generous co-operation must be recognized as a signal step in the direction of an international Christian approach to the problem of world order.

The Church and International Reconstruction

In the spring of 1943 a document entitled, "The Church and International Reconstruction" (frequently referred to as the Geneva document), was prepared by Visser 't Hooft, and was issued under the auspices of the Geneva Study Department of the World Council of Churches through its American office. It analyzes and compares church attitudes throughout the world, with particular reference to international order. Its purpose is "to indicate, on the one hand, what seem to be the main common affirmations which the churches in the ecumenical movement are ready to make concerning the major 'issues of the peace'; and to indicate, on the other hand, what are the main points of disagreement in their midst concerning the application and implementation of these affirmations. . . . The material used consists of official, unofficial, and private statements which may be taken as representative of the standpoints of churches, or important groups within the churches.

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... No attempt has been made to illustrate each affirmation by quotations, or even to mention the names of churches, countries or groups, in which this or that particular conviction is held."

The significance of the common affirmation or agreements can readily be grasped.¹ Since there is no information about the extent to which the points of difference are held, it is difficult to place a clear value upon them. For the purpose of the present study, an enumeration of the agreements must suffice. As you study them, try to answer these questions.

1. In how far do you agree with each statement?
2. If you are not satisfied with any statement, how would you formulate your own opinion?

I. We believe that the Church has a specific task in relation to peacemaking and the creation of international order.

II. We believe that the Church performs its task in this realm by being itself a world-wide fellowship under one Lord in which national differences are transcended.

III. We believe that the Church is to announce to the nations that Jesus Christ is Lord over all men and all powers.

IV. We believe that the Church is to proclaim the divine commandments concerning the order which is to reign in the world.

¹ The reader's attention is called to a study which attempts an analysis and synthesis of documents from communions or groups of communions whose scope approaches representation of the Christian position in an entire nation. Here quotations from the more important church statements are organized topically and, after each topic, significant ideas are woven into a synthesis or composite picture. The study appears under the title, *Christian Messages to the Peoples of the World*, and is published jointly by the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace and the American Office of the World Council of Churches.

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V. We believe that the Church is to call the nations to repentance for their common guilt and to work for their reconciliation.

VI. We believe that the Church is to proclaim that international relations must be subordinated to law.

VII. We believe that the Church is to proclaim that the state is neither an aim in itself nor a law unto itself and that its God-given function is to maintain an order based on law which guarantees fundamental human rights.

VIII. We believe that the Church is to proclaim that political power must be exercised with a sense of responsibility toward all those who are affected by that power.

IX. We believe that the Church is to proclaim that society must provide all of its members with the opportunity to fulfill a meaningful vocation and that it should provide conditions of social security for all.

X. We believe that the Church is to proclaim that the nations are interdependent and that they are to share in the resources of the earth.

XI. We believe that the Church is to proclaim that no people can claim the right to rule over another people, and that the dominating purpose of colonial administration must be to prepare colonial peoples for self-government.

The International Round Table of Christian Leaders

In order to promote an international Christian approach to the establishment of world order, sixty-one Christian leaders met for four days in an International Round Table at Princeton in July, 1943. They came from twelve different countries, from North America, Europe, Asia, Australia and New Zealand. They combined wide experience in political, economic,

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and church life. While the greater portion of the participants were from member states of the United Nations, there were present citizens and former citizens of countries with which the United Nations are at war. The conference was convened by the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace in collaboration with the Canadian United Church Commission on Church, Nation, and World Order.

The very fact that the Round Table was held, with its international representation, is highly significant. It testified that the life and concern of the Christian Church transcend national lines even at a time when the greater part of the world is torn by war.

A brief pronouncement, known as "A Christian Message on World Order," was formulated and accepted. The first part is addressed to the *World*; that is, to Christians in their capacity as citizens, to those who are not in the fellowship of the Christian church, and to the nations. Here the Round Table reaffirmed the Christian conviction that there is a moral order which undergirds our world and with which human relations must conform. In order to show more concretely the implications of moral principles for world order, there were set forth the six political propositions (the Six Pillars of Peace) previously formulated by the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. These propositions were recognized as indicative of what the people of all nations should personally accept and seek to have accepted by their governments. The statement to the world concludes with an enumeration of ten requirements which must be met in order that each successive step may move most surely toward the ultimate goal of world order. Since these ten requirements represent a somewhat distinctive contribution, they are here quoted in full:

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1. That national isolationism, the monopolization of political power by a few nations, and the balance of power which hitherto have failed to maintain peace, be repudiated, as policies which contravene the purpose of establishing world order and the institutions requisite thereto.
2. That temporary collaboration among the United Nations should, as quickly as possible, give way to a universal order and not be consolidated into a closed military alliance to establish a preponderance or a concert of power.
3. That drastic reduction in armaments be undertaken as steps toward the goals envisaged in the Atlantic Charter of the "abandonment of the use of force" and lifting from the peoples of the world the "crushing burden of armaments."
4. That immediate international collaboration such as is involved in (a) conferences dealing with specific problems and in (b) the administration of relief and reconstruction be guarded against exploitation for purposes of power politics.
5. That, if regional organizations arise, they be part of an inclusive world order and shall not threaten the interests of world organization.
6. That a larger measure of discipline and sacrifice for the good of the whole world community be practiced by each nation as necessary to the good of that nation as a part of the community.
7. That individual citizens recognize their responsibility for their collective decisions as reflected in national policies.
8. That ethical and moral standards recognized as applying to individual conduct be recognized as applying also to group, corporate, and national conduct.
9. That cultural and social collaborations be established, along with political collaboration, as essential for the achievement of world order.

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10. That an adequate motivation be developed in the will of the peoples of the world to support the agencies and arrangements for co-operation, so that the sense of national destiny which has hitherto led nations to seek national aggrandizement, shall hereafter find its expression in works that promote the general welfare of mankind.

The second part of the pronouncement is addressed to the *Church*; that is, to Christians as members of the Christian community. Stress is laid on the church's new access of power in unity. Across all lines of cleavage the ecumenical fellowship has not only endured but is maturing. Included within the church's mission are the following responsibilities: (1) to lead the world to God through Christ; (2) to demonstrate through the life of its members an orderly and mutually helpful community; (3) to seek common agreement upon the basic principles of national and international policy; (4) to call nations and governments to moral responsibility under God. The fulfillment of this mission is possible, not through dependence upon our own wisdom and strength alone, but through confidence in God, who reigns and is sufficient to them that are faithful.

The agenda of the Round Table had provided for a consideration of certain particular problems involved in the establishment of world order—problems which arise from the need to arrive at a Christian view toward collaboration with Russia; a Christian attitude toward Germany; a settlement in the Far East which harmonizes with Christian standards. Substantial agreement was reached on the principles which ought to be determining in the solution of these problems. However, since there was insufficient time for adequate consideration and since the intricacies attending each issue were clearly evident, the Round Table preferred to regard its find-

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ings in these areas as groundwork for the more detailed investigations that must needs follow. While not given the same standing as the "Message on World Order," these statements merit careful study and can provide help in shaping the application of Christian principles to some of the more perplexing problems of world order. The principles suggested for relations with Germany are here given as an illustration.

A Clash of Ideologies

This war is not merely a conflict of nations: it is a clash of ideologies. Germany is controlled by the demonic forces of racialism and perverted nationalism. These forces are being opposed not only in the free countries of the United Nations and in occupied lands, but also among growing groups in Germany itself. And, it must be admitted, the very same forces find support in some sections of opinion, and even in certain governmental policies, within the United Nations, free and occupied.

Christians are bound to acknowledge with penitence their failures individually and nationally to live up to their professed ideals. This should not hide from them the fact that Nazi ideology avows and embraces monstrous evils as matters of official policy.

In face of this whole situation, Christians should beware of thinking solely on nationalistic lines.

Germany within Europe

All Europe has longed for stability and unity. This very aspiration lent Hitler a great measure of his support both within and without Germany. His "new order" has utterly failed. It has, indeed, defeated itself, essentially because its

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policy was not based upon voluntary co-operation but upon the enforced subordination of Europe to the "master race." Clearly, this policy or any other which seeks its ends by reliance upon division, hatred, bitterness, selfishness, and avarice—wherever it may be pursued—is foredoomed.

Any proposal to further European stability— involving 80,000,000 Germans—must be approached with proportionate concern for the problem of the majority of that continent—the 250,000,000 non-Germans, a considerable portion of whom have been deprived of their freedom and means of living.

For the oppressed nations—victims of aggression—justice demands a restitution by Germany, but one that will not involve disintegration of the European economic structure.

For Germany—the aggressor—Christianity involves reconciliation on the basis of justice, and the meeting of a spirit of repentance with a spirit of forgiveness. This attitude must characterize all policies to which Christians lend support.

Germany within World Organization

While the problem of Germany in the postwar period cannot be separated from its European setting, its solution must also take into account the wider objective—the early achievement of world organization embracing all nations. Our object should be to help Germany take her place within this organization, assuming all the responsibilities and rights which membership implies. With regard to the treatment of Germany. Christian principles must prevail. Controls and safeguards will be necessary. But it would be folly to attempt to apply repressive measures so vindictive and harsh that public opinion in the victor nations themselves will later revolt against them. This will inevitably bring about a breakdown

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of the peace structure and lead to renewed conflict. More powerful than any material forces imposed as safeguards upon Germany will be the invigoration of the sense of personal responsibility on the part of individuals and a world point of view based upon Christian principles influencing and strengthening recuperative forces within Germany.

Churches and nations must lend responsible leaders in Germany every encouragement and aid in the process of creating that Christian world viewpoint, while at the same time demonstrating their sincerity of purpose by initiating whatever re-education is needed in their own sphere of responsibility within their own lands.

Postwar Policy of the United Nations

Guiding principles for the postwar policy of the United Nations have already been laid down in official statements, for example, in the Atlantic Charter. There is a remarkable degree of agreement at many points between these and those proposed by our churches. Christians are concerned to see to it that their respective governments place the highest interpretation upon these principles and that the economic and political policies to be formulated do in fact implement them.

The Churches of Germany in the Postwar World

In seeking to establish order and stability in Germany, the United Nations and their governments in initiating any program aimed at helping the re-establishment of order and stability in Germany will do well to recognize the great assistance which the German churches can give. Among the cultural organizations of Germany, the churches have conspicuously succeeded in retaining their inner coherence, their sense of continuity, and their corporate purposes. They have

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won a deepened loyalty of their people. Mindful of the wealth of spiritual experience which the persecution and consequent resistance of the churches of Germany have produced, we anticipate the contributions which they can make to the whole Christian Church. They will be spiritual allies in the realization of common goals.

Ecumenical Christian Fellowship

The essence of the ecumenical Church is one Christian fellowship, unbroken by space or circumstance. We welcome with gratitude the certain knowledge, based on authentic evidence, that the sense of spiritual kinship has not been lost by our brethren in the German churches, as we are certain it has not been lost by us. In the expression of this ecumenical spirit we see what Archbishop Temple of Canterbury, head of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, called "the great new fact of our time . . . one ground of hope for the future."

The ecumenical spirit of the Round Table was further manifested in a message addressed to Christians in war-torn lands. The greeting it embodies gives expression to a sense of continuing fellowship with Christians throughout the entire world and to the hope that the power of nations will hereafter be made the servant of righteous government and of world order.

Think over this brief description of the Princeton Round Table. Can you find any distinctive values that were gained in this conference? What one reality needs to find continuing expression if Christianity is to make an effective contribution to world order?

CHAPTER XIV

A World at Peace

Some nineteen hundred years ago, God brought to the consciousness of man a Christmas message. "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased" (Luke 2: 14). Translated in different ways, its meaning is substantially the same. From God there has come to man the possibility of peace in Jesus Christ. This message has brought comfort to countless thousands of individuals. And yet, in the broader areas of human relations, men have consistently thwarted the purpose of God. They have recurring engaged in wars. Even in times of peace, they have teetered on the brink of a new catastrophe. Need this always be so? What convictions demand particular application in order that the Christian citizen may play his part in bringing God's message of peace to the broader areas of life?

A Christian View

As an aid in answering this question, five ideas have been drawn from different writings of the New Testament. They have a distinctive meaning for the Christian and mark out lines of thought and action for him to follow.

1. One Family

St. Paul introduced a prayer for the Ephesians in this manner: "For this cause, I bow my knees unto the Father of our

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Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named . . ." (Ephesians 3: 14, 15).

1. In what sense are all men members of the family of God?
2. How can the recognition of this contribute to world peace?

2. One Standard

In speaking to one of the scribes, Jesus said, "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these" (Mark 12: 30, 31).

1. How does love for God affect our attitude towards men?
2. Who is the Christian's neighbor? Does the answer to this question have any bearing upon world peace?

3. One Guilt

In his effort to show that all men are in need of the Gospel, St. Paul stated: "For all men have sinned, and come short of the glory of God" (Romans 3: 23).

1. Do all Christians share in the guilt of war? Does the guilt grow out of indifference? Ignorance? Willful wrongdoing? The force of circumstances?
2. How can "daily repentance" help to avoid the causes of war?

4. One Goal

As an incentive to continuing effort, the apostle wrote these words to the Philippians: "Brethren, I count not myself to

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have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus" (Philippians 3:13, 14).

1. Does the "high calling of God" include life in a world of nations?
2. After these many centuries of war, is a fresh start possible? What needs must be met in order that a fresh start may be made?

5. One Pathway

In his letter to the Galatians, St. Paul made two statements which seem to contradict each other. "For every man shall bear his own burden" (Galatians 6: 5). "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ" (Galatians 6: 2).

1. Is it possible for the responsible Christian to bear his own burdens and also to seek to bear the burdens of others?
2. Is it possible for a responsible nation to bear its own burdens and also to seek to bear the burdens of other nations? Which of the causes, normally contributing to war, can thus be overcome?

On to Victory

As the Christian looks at life in the immediate and distant future, he may be discouraged by the difficulties which lie before him. He will doubtless find obstacles that are seemingly insurmountable. In the face of all kinds of perplexities and stumbling blocks, how can Christian effort succeed? He will

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find reassurance in the knowledge that Christianity was born in adversity. Christianity has had to encounter and overcome difficulties throughout its entire history. It was in times of hardship that the Christian message mounted to its highest peak of effectiveness.

Something of this thought was sensed by the writer of *Revelation*. He prepared his work for churches that were undergoing all kinds of trials—religious, social, political, economic. Could they withstand the seemingly interminable threats made against them? In vivid imagery, the author pictures seven seals to be broken, each of them expressive of calamity and hardship. One after another is opened, and with each new trials are revealed. The reader expects that, with the opening of the seventh seal, the end of hardship and struggle will be reached. But no! With the breaking of the seventh seal, seven trumpets are introduced, depicting further woes. As the seventh trumpet draws near, the end must surely be at hand. Again, with the seventh trumpet, seven bowls appear, vehicles of wrath. Then, in the midst of this dreary picture, at last a note of hope is sounded: "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever."

Through seemingly interminable hardship to eventual victory! That is the theme of *Revelation*. It is also the theme of Christian endeavor. There are rays of light and encouragement appearing on the way, although many times failure seems to attend all effort. But no need for discouragement! Christianity began with difficulties. It has faced them all through the centuries. It will continue to meet them throughout the years to come. However, the influence of the Gospel has been felt, maintained, and increased. Thus, too, it must go on through seemingly interminable hardship to eventual victory!

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A Self-Examination

We have pointed out a number of times that this course deals with one segment of the Gospel—the application of those principles which bear upon peace among men, especially peace among the peoples of the world. In the *Introduction*, five general objectives were suggested. As you close your study of this course—not of the subject, to be sure—ask yourself in how far you have attained these aims.

1. Have you begun to think somewhat more along international and ecumenical lines?
2. Do you understand some of the fundamental Christian principles which pertain to peace?
3. Are you interested in a further study of specific proposals for international settlements?
4. Are you on the lookout for opportunities to act as a Christian citizen?
5. Are you prepared, at least in part, to act now and to avail yourself of new opportunities as they arise?

From the classroom to further study—and—to action!

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